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EDWARD S. ROGERS

The Round Lake
Ojibwa

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ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY DIVISION
ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

EDWARD S. ROGERS

*The Round Lake
Ojibwa*

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Frequently when research is undertaken many individuals and institutions contribute time and money in order to see that the work may be pursued. Research among the Round Lake Ojibwa has been no exception.¹ The fieldwork was sponsored by the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, and this institution kindly supplied the facilities and time to prepare this report. Generous financial support was provided by the Globe and Mail of Toronto, and the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests facilitated the work in many ways. To these organizations I am indeed grateful for their never-failing support and encouragement.

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1. Fieldwork was undertaken at Weagamow Lake continuously from July, 1958 until July, 1959.

Without her diligent efforts this report would have been greatly hampered.

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PHONETIC KEY

The following phonetic key is presented as a guide for the pronunciation of the Round Lake Ojibwa terms employed in this report. It does not represent an analysis of their phonemic system.

<u>Vowels:</u>	a	as in	<u>pu</u> n
	a ^o	as in	<u>fa</u> ther
	e ^o	as in	<u>fa</u> te ¹
	i	as in	<u>pi</u> n
	i ^o	as in	<u>fe</u> e ¹
	o	as in	<u>pu</u> t
	o ^o	as in	<u>fo</u> lk ¹
<u>Semi-Vowels:</u>	y	as in	<u>ye</u> s
	w	as in	<u>we</u> ll
<u>Consonants:</u> ²			
<u>Stops</u> ³	c	as in	<u>hi</u> tching
	k	as in	<u>hi</u> king
	p	as in	<u>pu</u> rpose
	t	as in	<u>wa</u> ited
<u>Nasals:</u>	m	as in	<u>ma</u> n
	n	as in	<u>ma</u> n
<u>Sibilants:</u>	s	as in	<u>hi</u> ss
	š	as in	<u>hu</u> sh
<u>Glottal Fricative</u>			
	h	as in	<u>hi</u> gh

1. There is no diphthonging in Round Lake Ojibwa as there is in English.
2. All single consonants, except h, may be voiced between vowels. The only clusters of consonants which are voiced between vowels are those involving nasals plus stops or sibilants.
3. Stops are unaspirated.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

In northwestern Ontario lives a small group of people subsisting primarily by hunting, trapping and fishing, inhabiting for varying periods during the year a village on the shores of Weagamow Lake.¹ The group, numbering slightly more than two hundred and fifty individuals, will be referred to in this report as the Round Lake Ojibwa.²

The majority of the inhabitants of the village speak a northern dialect of Ojibwa. Several immigrants speak other dialects of either Cree or Ojibwa but modified through contact with the local population. While very few speak a rudimentary English, none can fully understand or express themselves in English. On occasion this leads to boundless confusion in the contact situation not only for the Euro-Canadians who have dealings with them but also for the people themselves.

In one respect the Round Lake Ojibwa are rather isolated from contact with the outside world. There are no roads or railroads into the area, and the only normal contact is by air. Planes are fairly frequent, there being a weekly mail service for the few Euro-Canadians who live in the village. Although the people have limited contact from this point of view, many have spent varying amounts of time outside either in the hospital, at school, or working in the mines at Pickle Crow. In addition, they have intimate and almost daily contact with the Euro-Canadian residents through the store, church, and school. Therefore, although they may be physically isolated, they are not so culturally.

Contact with carriers of Euro-Canadian culture has modified in some ways certain aspects of their culture and social organization, but much of the old remains. The culture of the Round Lake Ojibwa is neither aboriginal nor imported, but a composite of the old (i.e. Ojibwa culture) and the new (i.e. Euro-Canadian culture). It is, however, more than a simple composite. The loss of old ways and the adoption of new have stimulated further modifications and developments which are unique and indigenous but do not belong, strictly speaking, either to Ojibwa or to Euro-Canadian culture. The result is a particular cultural configuration although this should not, imply that the Round Lake Ojibwa are distinct from all other peoples. The process of change itself shows certain regularities common to non-literate peoples the world over who have come in contact with followers of West European tradition. Accordingly, one might suspect that other groups of Ojibwa and Cree in northern Ontario would exhibit similar changes and resulting cultural configurations. Unfortunately, so little field work has been done in this area that comparison and generalization are impossible. Differential rates of acculturation provide a further complicating factor. Communities found along any transect across northern Ontario, especially from south to north, are bound to vary and show a range along a scale of change. Finally, since contact agents are few, the idiosyncrasies of their particular personalities may affect the situation in specific instances, though probably not in the overall developments that have taken place under contact. Regardless of the idiosyncrasies of the contact agent, the introduction

1. Weagamow means literally "round lake."

2. See Introduction to Social Organization for definition of this and other terms, page B3-B4

of Canadian goods and subsidies, as well as Canadian values and attitudes as understood by the aboriginal population, produce changes similar over wide areas.

Field work was conducted with several purposes in mind. Perhaps the most important resulted from the fact that knowledge of the peoples of northern Ontario is practically non-existent. Only R. W. Dunning had worked in the immediate area, at Pikangikum.¹ To the south and at an earlier date, A. Skinner conducted a survey along Lac Seul, Lake St. Joseph, and the Albany River.² To the east J. J. Honigmann has worked among the Attawapiscat Cree,³ and just west of the Ontario-Manitoba boundary, I. Hallowell conducted investigations among the Berens River and Island Lake peoples.⁴ The rest of this vast area, except for scattered historical sources, is terra incognita. For this reason alone field work seemed profitable, especially in view of the fact that it is still possible to secure information about the old days on which to base studies of culture change. Conditions are changing so rapidly in northern Ontario that this will not be true for long.

This was not the only purpose in making this study. Prime consideration was given to recording the contemporary situation. Personnel with the task of administering the area are concerned with the future of the country and its inhabitants and want information on which to base future policies. Accordingly, work was undertaken with this in mind and data collected in the realm of socio-economics.

In addition, it was hoped that it might be possible to collect enough information to be able to make an analysis of the social organization of the Round Lake Ojibwa. The paucity of information regarding the structure and operation of bilateral kinship systems anywhere in the world would in itself have more than justified undertaking field work among these people.

A final purpose of the study, of direct and vital concern to the sponsor, The Royal Ontario Museum, was the collection and description of the past and present material culture of the Round Lake Ojibwa. It was hoped that an adequate range of materials could be secured to represent fully one group of northern Ojibwa.

1. Dunning, R. W.,
1959. Social and Economic Change among the Northern Ojibwa,
University of Toronto Press.
2. Skinner, A.
1911. Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux,
Anthropological Papers, IX, pt. 1, pp 117-76, American Museum of
Natural History.
3. Honigmann, J.J.
1953. Social Organization of the Attawapiscat Cree Indians,
Anthropos, XLVIII, pp. 809-16.
4. Hallowell, A.I.
1942. The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society, Philadelphia.
1955. Culture and Experience, Philadelphia.
And many others.

Conditions of field work were not unusual, considering the eastern sub-arctic as a whole, but they did pose certain problems which must be kept in mind when reading the following report. Adequate interpreters were practically non-existent or unavailable. Those who were available were not particularly interested in the work and their command of English left much to be desired. This was complicated by the fact that if the interviewer did not understand what they said, he risked the anger of the interpreter if he asked for a repetition. The best interpreter was, unfortunately, fully employed elsewhere but served whenever he had the time. Accordingly interviews with interpreters were curtailed to a much greater degree than desirable or advisable when attempting to probe at all deeply into the life of a people who speak no English.¹ On the other hand, considerable time was spent in talking to several of the interpreters themselves, and these were a source of valuable information. This stems in part from the fact that no third party was present to influence the situation. The native language was, however, employed to some extent by the author in the gathering of data, though admittedly extremely crudely. Finally, information was collected by direct observation. Because of language difficulties errors have undoubtedly crept into the field notes. An attempt was made, however, to check the data secured in as many ways as possible to ensure its accuracy. Perhaps forty percent of the information was obtained through interpreters or directly from those who spoke some English, forty percent by means of the native language, and twenty percent by direct observation. The native language was used primarily for collecting economic and material culture data; interpreters or English speakers were used for social organization and religion.

Another condition which hampered field work was the fact that the Round Lake Ojibwa are not particularly articulate. In part but not wholly, this is due to the language barrier. Even those individuals who speak English may sit for hours and say little. No amount of prodding can alter the situation. Informants are often obviously preoccupied with some problem. If one can discover and ask about this they may talk, or after sitting for a time they may spontaneously discuss what is bothering them. When an informant was not interested, every question asked would receive the reply, "I don't know." This among the younger members of the community sometimes led to absurdities. Once a young man was asked if he had looked at his hare snares that day. He agreed that he had. When he was asked how many hares he had caught, he shrugged his shoulders and said, "I don't know." Immediately a grin came over his face as he realized how ridiculous the answer sounded, and he added, "Five." Even though gossip is common, at least among close relatives, reticence also results from the fact that Round Lake Ojibwa feel they should not talk about the affairs of others, especially with strangers, since this might involve them in a feud.

In addition the Round Lake Ojibwa have little tendency to generalize. Although they may readily deal with specific events, the collection of case material from which generalizations can be made is hampered by the taboo on discussing other people's affairs. Informants would say that they did not know what others did, although in fact, they did know, but were reluctant to say.

1. I am discounting for the moment those field workers who can quickly learn the native language in such a fashion that they can honestly conduct intensive investigations without interpreters. I cannot.

They would describe their own past actions in particular situations, but could not predict their own behavior in hypothetical situations. One elderly informant, when asked how marriages were arranged, said he didn't know since he had never had a son who was properly married. One son had married without the prior knowledge of his father and his second son was still unmarried. He simply could not or would not visualize the situation, not until it was thrust upon him nearly a year later and he was conducting the necessary negotiations for his second son's marriage. This form of behavior was characteristic of the majority of informants, and did not arise from any lack of mental ability. The apparent inability to generalize probably rests upon cultural and/or linguistic factors. Several tried very hard, however, to give information fully and accurately on most points covered in discussion.

Due firstly to contact with Euro-Canadians who have brought pressure to bear upon the Round Lake Ojibwa and secondly to an understandable desire of the people to prevent outsiders from learning about their way of life, there are many aspects of the culture that most informants are unwilling to discuss. Often, for instance, when an informant was asked to discuss some facet of life in the old days, he would reply that they had lived like dogs and therefore there was nothing to tell. They have been repeatedly told that their own ways are bad and on the surface, at least, many have accepted this judgement and are trying to emulate the Euro-Canadians and forget the past. In this they have not been entirely successful. Due to a certain lack of pride in the aboriginal culture, certain aspects of contemporary life are shrouded in secrecy. Religion is probably the most conspicuous of these. Outwardly the people profess to be Christian, but underneath they hold many non-Christian beliefs and are unwilling to discuss these freely.

In addition to the attempted suppression of the past, the Round Lake Ojibwa fear that they may be breaking some or many Canadian laws - they have no idea which ones - and will get in trouble. This fear is exhibited principally in the sphere of economics where they believe they may have broken some game laws. For this reason they are reluctant to discuss hunting and trapping techniques or amounts of game secured. One of the few times that an informant openly refused to answer a question was in this connection.

It has not been my intention to present a picture of utter frustration as regards field work among the Round Lake Ojibwa. Rather the above is given so that the material to be presented in this report can be viewed in its proper perspective and its limitations understood. Furthermore, not all informants continued to act in the above manner, although they may have done so at first. Near the end of field work several became interested in the project and contributed substantial portions of the material that is to follow. They talked freely and it is believed sincerely on practically any topic about which they were questioned. Time unfortunately limited the collection of data and prevented the gaining of confidence of a large number of informants from whom a closer check could have been made of the data collected.

One further note of caution must be made. All the principal informants were men. The woman's point of view and role in community life is therefore far from adequately portrayed. In addition, most of the following information is derived from informants between the ages of thirty and forty-five and therefore

does not adequately represent the ideas and attitudes of the entire population. There is one final point which must be stated and, in fact, emphasized. The collection of enough case material on which to base statistically valid generalizations of social, economic, and religious behavior is restricted when investigating a small number of people such as the Round Lake Ojibwa. If no deaths occur, as at Weagamow Lake during the course of field work, direct observation of appropriate behavior by kin and others under such circumstances is, of course, impossible. Even, say, three deaths are likely to be too few to see clearly the possible range of behavior allowed and the points at which sanctions are brought to bear to stop deviant behavior. Nor can modal behavior be properly detected. Informant's testimony, on the other hand, while increasing the total number of cases may still not produce enough information. Furthermore such testimony may represent only the ideal behavior expected in any particular situation and not what has actually taken place. Accordingly, it must be remembered that what follows, although often given in general terms, is based in many instances on too few cases to have the degree of statistical validity desired and which could be obtained by longer periods of field work or when investigating larger communities.

Any examination of the Round Lake Ojibwa must bear in mind that they do not form a self-contained unit exhibiting all the necessary attributes of a society. They lack particular structures which are necessary if they are to exist autonomously and be considered a society in the strict meaning of the word. It was said previously that the Round Lake Ojibwa represent culturally a new way of life arising from contact with Euro-Canadian culture. This development poses certain methodological problems in any attempt to gather data and present a picture of their way of life. These people could not exist in their present form if it were not for Canadian society. Indeed, they are inseparably linked with the political, economic, and religious institutions found in Canadian society. Accordingly, they cannot be analysed, examined, or described as have been many if not most, non-literate peoples. A different frame of reference must be adopted, taking into consideration this interdependence with Canadian society. At almost every point understanding of their way of life is only possible when it is viewed against a backdrop of Euro-Canadian contact. This situation is not peculiar to this particular group but exists for all Indian peoples throughout the entire eastern sub-arctic. It is foolhardy to attempt to study these people as though they lived in a vacuum.

With this in mind, there are several ways in which the Round Lake Ojibwa might be dealt with. One might examine the community to see how it operates internally with a minimum of reference to external factors; one might examine the structures in Canadian society which affect the Round Lake community and see how they operate; one might examine the impact that they have had on various institutions in Canadian society, for changes resulting from the contact situation are not all on the side of the Indian population. What has been done in this report is to examine the Round Lake Ojibwa at different levels of social organization - kinship, family and community - together with their economic and religious systems, and to point out the alterations that have occurred because of contact with Euro-Canadian culture. No attempt is made to examine those structures in Canadian society which impinge upon the community or to specify the effect the

Round Lake Ojibwa have had on these external structures. From this presentation it is hoped that the following features may emerge - culture change; the interrelation of social organization, economics, and religion; and the operation and integration of those units which make up the community.

Of prime consideration is the effect of contact with Euro-Canadians and the changes that have taken place. These are manifold. There has been a change in the economic system from one of self-sufficiency on a subsistence level to one which lacks self-sufficiency, is based on a money economy, and is firmly interlocked with the Canadian economic system. More and more time is being spent in trapping fur bearers and catching fish for sale and less time in hunting and fishing for food. The religious system has been altered, Christian rituals replacing native forms and native and Christian attitudes and beliefs becoming interwoven and modified. But perhaps the most fundamental changes have occurred in the social organization. Structures - political, economic, and religious - have been lost which were necessary for the Round Lake Ojibwa to operate as a society. These structures are now to be found within Canadian society and are external to the community. In this sense, lacking autonomous structures, the Round Lake Ojibwa cannot be considered a society.

The term structure is of course a generalization. Any structure is composed of a series of connected roles, each filled by one or more discrete individuals or actors. The behavior of actors in roles constitutes the observable data from which generalizations can be made as to structure. A role can be thought of as the rights, duties, obligations, responsibilities, and other factors, characteristic of any particular class of individuals. In this sense all fathers can be considered a class, having in common particular characteristics which constitute the role, "father." In addition, there are two other important aspects involved in the operation of roles. These are their allocation - how individuals are recruited and come to hold particular positions - and the mechanisms which sanction and maintain an individual's incumbency in a particular role.

Perhaps an example will clarify the concept and show what happened among the Round Lake Ojibwa to a particular role under contact. Consider, for example, the role of leader. Formerly, each band had a leader. This role entailed certain obligations and responsibilities, such as the protection of followers from harm (i.e. witchcraft), caring for the sick and needy, settling intra-group differences, and giving feasts. The leader had certain rights, such as the assumption of a particular dress and the expectation of aid from his followers. Certain qualifications were required of the leader. He had to have superior religious power and had to adhere most closely to the norms of behavior considered by his people to be proper in political undertakings, economic situations, and religious performances. In these respects he epitomised the ideal person. His position was sanctioned by the fulfilment of such obligations as the distribution of goods and services, by means of his superior religious power, and through ties of kinship. The old leader, one might say, was a many sided person. His role was in fact a series of linked roles - political, economic, and religious in nature with the added dimension of kinship.

Now, what happened under contact? The old leader as specified above disappeared, and a new "leader" or chief came into being. The role of chief was established by Euro-Canadians who specified what his role should be in community affairs. All specifications were purely political in nature. They did not contain religious, economic, and kinship aspects, as was formerly the case. This, by and of itself, does not explain the present role of chief for he might

easily have retained these other aspects. Several reasons may be advanced to explain why he did not. With the expansion in group size from bands of about fifty persons to a community of two hundred and fifty, ties of kinship were no longer as effective. While in the smaller group the leader might have been related to nearly everyone, this is no longer the case in the large group. Furthermore, the religious aspect of the leader's role was altered. With a breakdown in the native religious system, especially the disappearance of shamans, the leader could no longer protect his group from sorcery. Euro-Canadians eventually took over the direction of religious life, except in the case of the Evangelical church in which native preachers arose. This was in a sense a new role, although partly a lineal descendent of the shaman's role, which did not for various reasons coincide with that of chief. In addition, with the advent of a money economy and a sense of private ownership of the goods secured in this manner, the distribution of goods by the leader was curtailed and in effect disappeared. Euro-Canadians took over the care of the sick and needy, a former duty of the old leader. Finally, due to changing conditions, conflicting norms have arisen so that a chief now finds it difficult to act. When he does there will be those who adhere to an opposite norm and condemn the chief for his action.

Two things can be seen to have happened to the old leader in his transformation to the present chief. He lost certain linked roles which had previously strengthened his position as leader, and at the same time lost the sanctions which maintained his position. The present chief has purely political responsibilities specified by Euro-Canadians, not the Round Lake Ojibwa, but does not have the sanctions from within the community necessary to implement these. The chief does, however, have one very powerful sanction, external to the community. It is effective only in so far as an individual fears the chief might bring it to bear. Because the people fear the chief might go to the Euro-Canadian authorities cases that come under his jurisdiction are often kept secret from him. The same comments can be made regarding the role of councilor. The chief, on the other hand, although he possesses this sanction cannot use it effectively. If he were to ask aid of the Euro-Canadians what respect he does command among his people would decrease even more and he would receive even less co-operation. He would be considered a traitor to his own people.

The above case illustrates one type of change which has occurred to the Round Lake Ojibwa. There are many other forms of change which have taken place under contact. The Euro-Canadian factors responsible for these changes are numerous, interrelated, and have been operative, in most cases, for many years. They consist of Euro-Canadian items of material culture, a money economy, missionary work, and to a lesser extent the influence of government personnel. Of these the economic factors are perhaps the most important.

Another feature which it is hoped will emerge from this study is the close interrelationships which exist between social organization, the economic system, and religion of the Round Lake Ojibwa. Although the interrelationships between these three aspects of life are not all-encompassing, there are points at which they overlap and merge. There are at least four ways in which this can be seen. One way in which interrelationships can be observed is through culture change. With the replacement of a subsistence economy by a money economy certain alterations have occurred in other aspects of life. Among the Round Lake Ojibwa there has been a concomitant breakdown in the nintipe'ncike'win¹ resulting in the emergence of an almost completely autonomous nuclear family structure.

1. See Glossary for definition of native terms, page G1-G16

Another way in which social organization, economics, and religion are interrelated is through linked roles. Examples of these are the chief, native preacher, and family head. The chief is not only a quasi-political figure but also a trapper and sometimes an elder in the church. A family head is usually religious leader of the group, the authority figure, and a trapper.

A third way in which interrelationships are seen is in the operation of a single structure in simultaneous activities. Often a family as a group leaves the village for a few days. Hunting ducks and gathering berries may be the ostensible purpose, but at the same time it is a social occasion - a holiday - and undertaken as much in this spirit as any other. On other occasions the family may engage in several tasks at the same time about their home and in proximity to one another. Economic activities are carried out but at the same time it is a social gathering and in addition the children are being taught the proper procedures for the particular tasks performed.

Finally, interrelationships among social organization, economics, and religion are clearly indicated by the belief system of the people. For instance, hunting magic is occasionally employed in the capture of game and the bones of game may be treated in a ceremonial manner. Another important way in which interrelationships are shown is in the field of witchcraft. The fear of witchcraft has a tendency to inhibit social interaction outside the range of kinship. This in turn hampers large scale economic undertakings, and at the same time strains inter-community relations.

A final aim of this study is to examine the degree of integration of the Round Lake Community. From what has been said above it might appear that the Round Lake Ojibwa form an acephalous organization. That this is not so is due to a number of factors, the most important of which is the part played by kinship in perpetuating group cohesiveness. Even so, there are signs that the community is not a smoothly functioning unit, is drifting in confusion due to conflicting values and norms resulting from contact with Euro-Canadians, and is approaching what might be thought of as a state of anomie. Social disintegration has no doubt taken place, but to exactly what extent it is difficult to say and impossible to prognosticate for the future.

Several concluding remarks must be made. The report is written in the present tense. Perhaps this is a mistake, since it implies that these are the conditions prevailing at the moment. Although this is true in general, every year sees new changes in particular features of the culture. The community of Round Lake is not static and therefore, what has been written must be understood as applying to 1958-1959 and in some cases preceding years. Furthermore, it must always be born in mind that this is a preliminary study. More questions have been raised than answered. Further investigations could easily augment the present work and might well alter some of the statements made here. It would be naive to think otherwise.

Finally, the report is presented in several parts - Background, Social Organization, Economics, and Religion - for reasons of convenience and clarity. It would have been possible to have given only the material on the social organization, weaving in relevant data on economics and religion. Although this would have shown more clearly the interrelations among economics, religion and social organization it would not have shown the total range of the economic and religious systems. By separating the three major aspects, a greater range of material can be presented and in more usable form than if only those aspects of economics and religion which were interrelated with the social organization had been described.

PART I

BACKGROUND - ENVIRONMENTAL

AND

HISTORICAL

Introduction:

The country inhabited by the Round Lake Ojibwa lies in northern Ontario (Map 1) nearly 200 miles north of Sioux Lookout, Ontario. The area is located approximately between latitudes 52 degrees 10 minutes and 53 degrees 30 minutes North and longitudes 90 degrees 10 minutes and 92 degrees 20 minutes West. It is a relatively isolated area, there being no roads or railroads into the country. Access is by plane or canoe. The area encompasses roughly 5,000 square miles and contains a total population of less than 300 people of Ojibwa and Euro-Canadian extraction.

Topography:

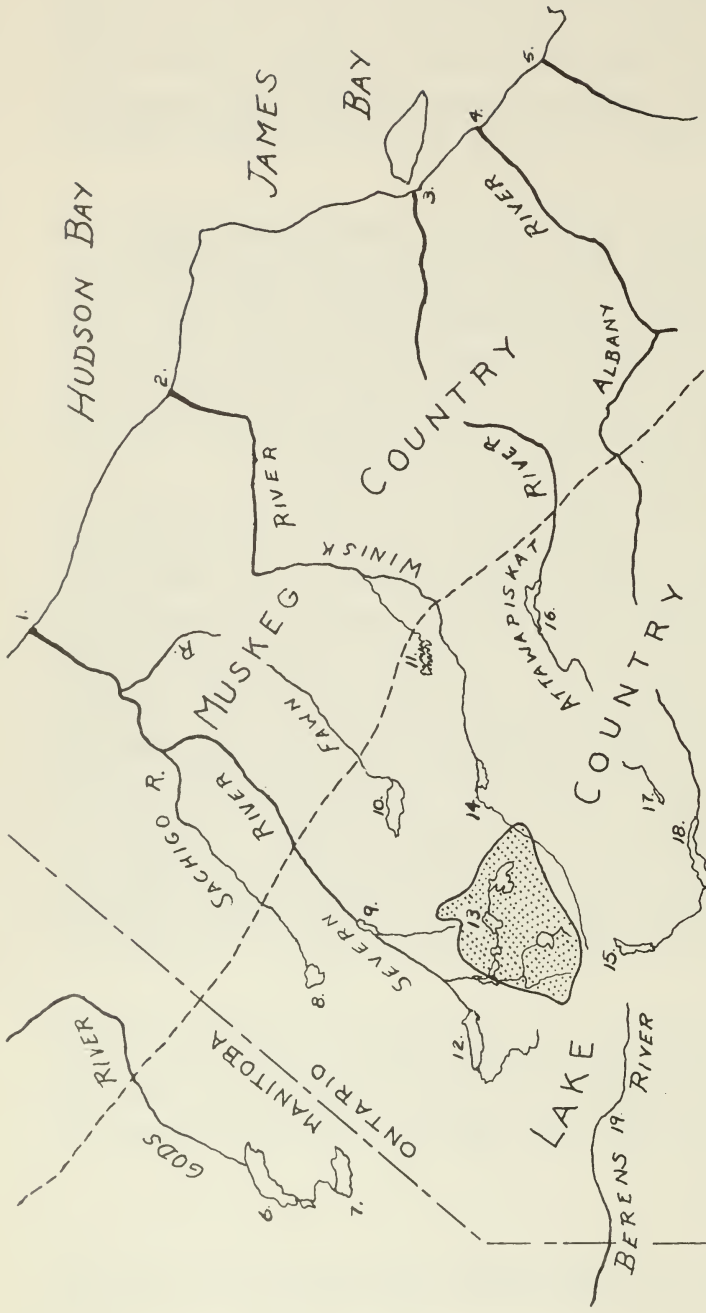
The area of Round Lake is typical of the pre-Cambrian Shield country found throughout the eastern subarctic. The country is quite flat dipping slightly northward and stands at an elevation of between approximately 1000 and 1200 feet above sea level. It is underlain with pre-Cambrian rocks of varying age, covered in most places with sand and gravel deposited by the Pleistocene glaciation in characteristic glacial patterns. Soil is poorly developed and in general is typically podzolic. There are no mountains as such, but there are here and there low hills rising several hundred feet above the surrounding country. These are said to be most numerous in the southwestern part of the area.

The area is covered with lakes, ponds, and muskeg linked together by streams and rivers. This is a disrupted drainage pattern, the result of glaciation. The area drains northward primarily through tributaries of the Severn River. The major stream is the Windigo River with such tributaries as the Kishikas and Caribou. The northern part of the area is drained by another tributary of the Severn, the Makoop-Schade River System. In the east a small section of country is drained by the Pipestone River, a tributary of the Winisk. Some fairly large lakes are distributed rather evenly throughout the area. The most important of these are Makoop, North Caribou¹, Eyapamikama, Weagamow, Magiss, Nikip, Windigo, and Upper Windigo.² Caribou Lake is by far the largest, being approximately twenty-four miles long at its greatest demension. Weagamow and Makoop Lakes are perhaps the next largest, each being about eleven miles long. There are innumerable smaller lakes and ponds scattered throughout the area. In addition there are substantial areas of muskeg, especially in the northwestern part of the area.

Climate:³



Temperature: The climate of the area of Round Lake is typically continental in character with long cold winters and short warm summers. The maximum temperature recorded was 93 degrees F. in June of 1959 and the minimum -58 degrees F. in January of the same year (Table 1). Only July is without frost.

1. This will be referred to as simply Caribou Lake, throughout the rest of the report.
2. For the rest of the report these two bodies of water will be referred to as Windigo Lake.
3. The data presented here are based on observations generally made four times a day from July 4, 1958 to July 2, 1959 at the village of Round Lake.



MAP I
 SKETCH MAP
 OF
 NORTHERN ONTARIO

SCALE APPROX.
 0 40 80
 MILES

-  AREA INHABITED BY THE ROUND LAKE OJIBWA
-  BOUNDARY BETWEEN MUSKEG AND LAKE COUNTRY

KEY to MAP 1

Indian (Cree and Ojibwa) Communities in Northern Ontario and adjacent Manitoba:

1. Fort Severn
2. Winisk
3. Attawapiskat
4. Fort Albany
5. Moose Factory
6. God's Lake
7. Island Lake
8. Sachigo (Sachigo Lake)
9. Bearskin (Michikan Lake)
10. Trout Lake (Big Trout Lake)
11. Casabanaca
12. Sandy Lake
13. Round Lake (Weagamow Lake)
14. Big Beaverhouse (Misamikwash Lake)
15. Cat Lake
16. Lansdowne House (Attawapiskat Lake)
17. Pickle Lake (Mining communities of Central Patricia and Pickle Crow.)
18. Osnaburg House (Lake St. Joseph)
19. Pikangikum

Towns:

20. Sioux Lookout
21. Dryden
22. Kenora

TABLE 1
MONTHLY TEMPERATURES (degrees F.) WEAGAMOW LAKE, 1958-59

Temperature	Month											
	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Max.	22	39	56	71	74	93	83	78	68	57	51	21
Min.	-58	-50	-39	-25	14	29	38	31	25	14	-32	-49
Av. Max.	- 7	9	32	52	50	72	69	62	55	43	23	- 2
Av. Min.	-30	-25	- 6	5	26	42	50	45	39	28	8	-22
Average	-18	- 8	13	29	38	57	59	54	47	36	15	-12

There is great seasonal variation in temperatures (Table 1 and Fig. 1). During the winter months of December, January and February temperatures are low and rarely rise above freezing even during the day. Since the Round Lake Ojibwa rarely work outside after dark it is the daytime temperatures which are of importance to them. Daytime temperatures rise to zero between one quarter and one third of the time during the winter. The coldest day in December was -20 degrees F.; -27 degrees F. in January; -18 degrees in February. There are periods of a week or two of very cold weather and then a time when the temperatures rise. This alternation of cold and warm spells occurs all winter.

At the end of February the temperatures begin to rise rapidly, and this continues until about the end of May. The daytime temperatures rise somewhat in advance of the night time temperatures. This results from the fact that the hours of daylight are longer and the sun is higher in the sky allowing for more effective warming of the air, but as the land is still covered with snow and the lakes solidly frozen, the nights remain cold. This is the time of year when there is the greatest diurnal change, the range being in some cases as much as 60 to 70 degrees F. Daytime temperatures are quite pleasant. In March there are days when the snow begins to melt in exposed places. One informant said he had seen it begin to melt as early as the first part of February. By April melting of the snow is extensive and by the end of the month a great part of the snow has disappeared. It is during the thaw that a crust forms on the snow. The strength and amount of crust formed varies from year to year depending on weather conditions. By the middle of May all snow has gone, except for a few drifts in sheltered spots, and only the ice in the lakes and rivers remains. The first ice to go is of course that in rivers and streams where the water flows fast. In the larger lakes the disappearance of ice is partly dependent on wind conditions favourable to breaking up the ice and moving it into the rivers. Not only does the time of break-up vary in streams and lakes of different sizes but it also varies yearly. In general the month of May is the period of break-up. The ice in Weagamow Lake begins to become candled and rotten about the shore during the first two weeks in May. It may go at any time between the 19th of May and the 5th of June with only small masses left here and there. The ice in Windigo Lake is gone between the 3rd of May and the 10th of June. Other lakes and rivers in the area are comparable.

With the disappearance of snow and ice, summer arrives suddenly. June, July, and August can be considered the summer months. Night temperatures rarely fall below freezing. During June the temperature fell to 32 degrees or lower six times but this never occurred in July and only twice in August. From

TEMPERATURE
°F

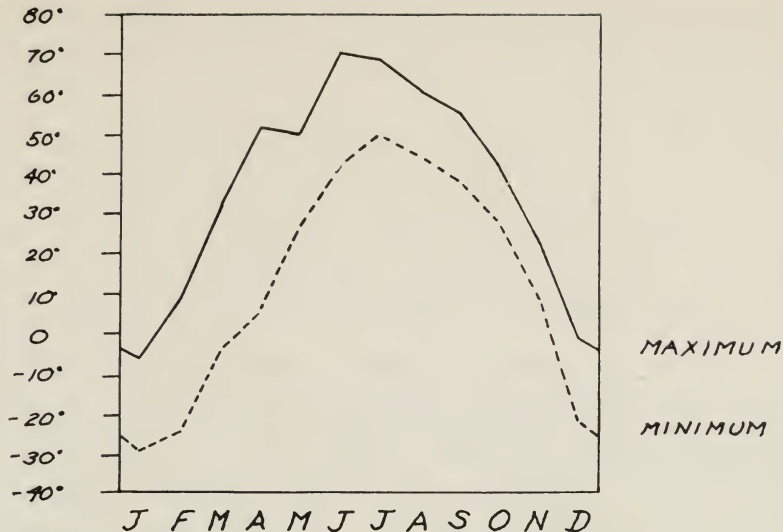


FIG 1 - MEAN MONTHLY MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM TEMPERATURES, WEAGAMOW LAKE, 1958-1959

INCHES

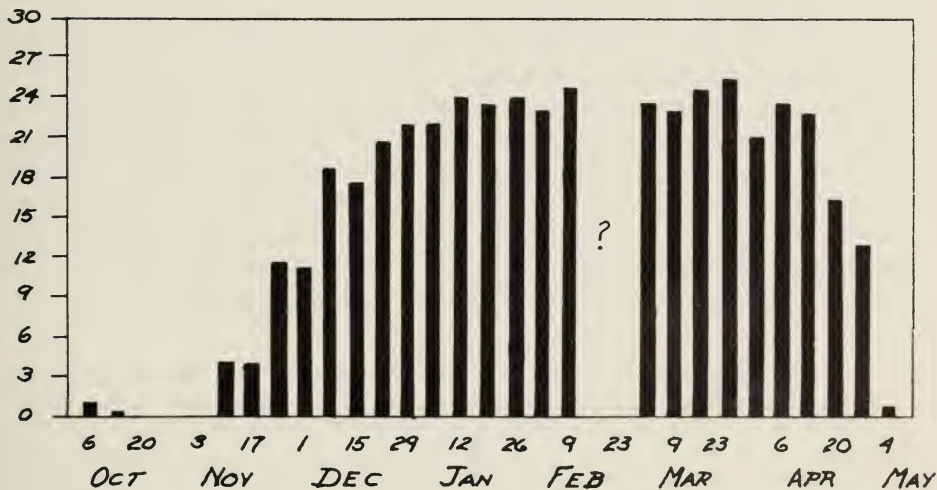


FIG 2 - DEPTH OF SNOW, WEAGAMOW LAKE, 1958-1959

June 29th until August 23rd¹ there were no frosts. There are short periods when the daytime temperatures are quite high but these alternate with cool spells. The diurnal range of temperatures is not very great, being rarely more than twenty degrees.

About the end of August or the first part of September summer ends. The temperatures begin to drop and continue to do so until some time in January. At first they fall slowly but later drop very rapidly. November is the month of greatest change. The diurnal change is in general less at this time of year than any other. This is due to the fact that the lakes and rivers have not yet frozen over, thereby preventing the night temperatures from dropping very low, while during the day the air is not warmed greatly since the sun has sunk lower on the horizon and cloudy weather is common. November is the period of freeze-up. The time when the lakes and streams become covered with ice varies, as does break-up, with the particular type of water body involved and from year to year. Weagamow Lake begins to freeze between the 1st and 17th of November and is wholly frozen by between the 10th and 22nd of November. Windigo Lake freezes over between November 1st and 21st. The smaller ponds and streams are frozen over by the middle of November. As soon as the lakes are frozen, the day and night temperatures drop suddenly. When this occurs winter can be said to have arrived.

Precipitation: There are no figures available as to the amount of precipitation the area of Round Lake receives during the course of a year. In general it probably does not exceed thirty to forty inches annually, which is within the range of the eastern sub-arctic. Precipitation comes as snow or rain with an occasional sleet storm. The greatest amount probably comes as rain and may account for as much as sixty to seventy percent of the precipitation. Only about a third of the time or less is there stormy weather when rain or snow falls (Table 2 and Fig. 3).

Snowfalls occur from September through May, with the greatest number in November. Although snow may fall as early as September it rarely if ever remains on the ground at this time. In October it begins to stay for longer periods and by November the temperatures are so low that little or no melting occurs. The snow now remains until May. It builds up rapidly during November and December and from then until the latter part of April there is little change (Fig. 2). During the winter of 1958-59 there was never more than twenty-six inches of snow in the bush surrounding Weagamow Lake at any one time.² Informants contend that the winter of 1958-59 was one of light snowfall.

TABLE 2

Number of Days each Month with Precipitation, Weagamow Lake, 1958-59

Form of Precipitation	M o n t h											
	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Rain	0	0	3	2	12	13	13	12	13	10	1	0
Snow	7	7	13	7	6	0	0	0	1	7	15	9

1. These dates represent a composite; July 4th to August 23rd 1958 and June 29th to July 2nd 1959.
2. Snow depths were based on weekly measurements taken at ten stations located back in the bush.

Rain falls from March, although this is unusually early, through November. August and September tend to be the rainiest months. During the height of summer there are occasional thunder storms but as a rule the rain falls as a drizzle which may last for a day or two at a time. On other occasions the rain comes at intervals in showers, some of which can be rather hard. Rainy days alternate in sequence with fair weather throughout the summer months.

Cloud Cover: Although precipitation is limited in amount and occurs perhaps no more than a third of the time, the sky is frequently overcast (Fig. 4), most commonly during the summer months. During the winter there is a greater amount of clear weather. Generally with cloud cover the temperatures are lower than they would otherwise be.

Wind: Windy weather is common in the area of Round Lake (Table 3 and Fig. 5), varying from light breezes to fairly heavy blows. The latter are of infrequent occurrence although they may come at any time of the year. The wind is not felt greatly since the forest cover has a tendency to break its force. Summer would appear to be the windiest time of the year. During the winter there are many calm days, especially when the temperatures drop very low. This is fortunate since heat loss is not as great as it otherwise would be; homes are heated more readily and outdoor tasks can be undertaken more easily.

Westerly winds predominate, occurring most frequently during summer and winter. As might be expected easterly winds have a tendency to be most common during the periods of transition, spring and fall. Wind is of some importance in the lives of the Round Lake Ojibwa. During the summer heavy winds often make it difficult if not impossible for the men to tend their fish nets and cases of accidents in which canoes are upset are common. The people have some fear of canoeing when the water is rough. During the winter, the wind is not of such great concern. It makes work out of doors difficult but in general does not stop work or cause injury to those who are outside. January and February are thought by the people to be windy months primarily because, when the wind does blow and the temperatures are very low, the cold is felt a great deal more than at other times, making the tending of fish nets on the larger lakes rather difficult and certainly uncomfortable.

TABLE 3
Percentage of Time each Month during which Particular Winds Blew
Weagamow Lake, 1958-59

Wind	M o n t h											
	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
N	2	6	6	16	9	5	2	5	4	3	8	7
NE	0	0	3	3	11	6	6	9	7	8	3	3
E	2	0	8	9	16	15	6	4	5	9	10	0
SE	2	2	11	8	11	12	13	9	16	6	8	5
S	2	2	8	6	13	4	2	3	12	7	14	1
SW	8	16	3	7	6	3	20	11	11	9	4	7
W	27	23	7	6	7	17	22	15	13	19	19	21
NW	7	10	11	15	14	19	13	25	17	9	13	4

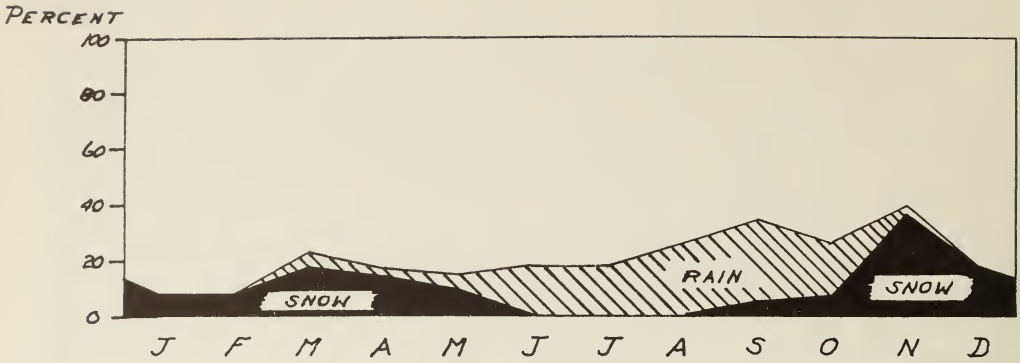


FIG 3- PERCENTAGE OF TIME
RAIN AND SNOW FELL, WEAGAMOW LAKE, 1958-1959



FIG 4- PERCENTAGE OF TIME
OVERCAST, WEAGAMOW LAKE, 1958-1959

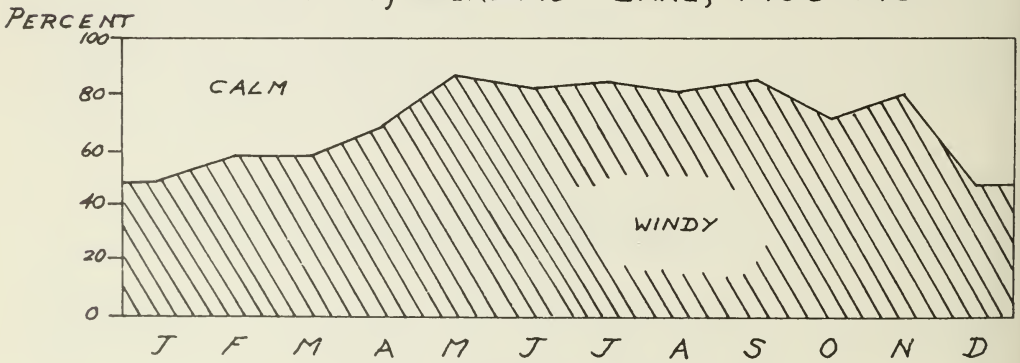


FIG 5- PERCENTAGE OF TIME
WIND BLEW, WEAGAMOW LAKE, 1958-1959

Flora:¹

The area of Round Lake is covered with rather dense stands of coniferous trees which form a part of the circumpolar boreal forest.² The forest growth in this area is known as the Northern Coniferous Section, 22A³. The forest cover is not, however, continuous but is broken here and there by muskeg. Some of these are rather large tracts especially to the west and northwest of Weagamow Lake. There are also small areas of rock exposures which are treeless.

The forest is primarily composed of coniferous species, the most common being black spruce. Other species are balsam fir, white spruce, banksian pine, larch⁴ and cedar in varying amounts. The spruce-fir association forms a climax. Banksian pine is found primarily on sandy ridges and may indicate previous burning of the area and represent a subclimax. Larch is found in the muskeg areas and along stream banks. Cedar is found only in the southern part of the area (Map 2). There are several species of deciduous trees, exclusive of larch, found in the area. These in general represent a subclimax stage and are the result of forest fires. White birch and aspen are the most common species. Balsam poplar is frequently seen along the shores.

Within the spruce-fir association there is little undergrowth except for mosses and an occasional flowering plant. In more open stands Labrador tea and sheep laurel are frequently abundant. In some places fruticose lichens cover the ground. In ruderal areas and those disturbed through fire, various shrubs, berry bushes, forbes, weeds, grasses, and occasionally mosses grow. Common shrubs are mountain-ash and pin-cherry. Sour-top bilberry bushes, locally referred to as blueberries, are usually numerous and gooseberry and rose bushes are encountered occasionally. Fireweed is one of the most common forbes. In the rocky areas there is usually a fair abundance of lichens of all types - crustose, foliose, and fruticose.

In riparian situations grow primarily alders and willows of several species although occasionally alder thickets also occur inland in marshy areas. At times these shrubs form a thick and continuous growth difficult to penetrate. In addition there are a few species of grasses, sedges, and rushes.

Aquatic plants are rather abundant. In shallow water grow bull-rushes, cattails, blue flag, reed grass, and other species. In deeper water there is often an abundance of pondweed and occasionally water lilies. The waters are in general rich in plant life and support an abundant fauna.

Seasonal variation in the vegetation is of course extreme, considering the climatic conditions which prevail in the area. During the winter all vegetation is dormant. The deciduous growths have shed their leaves and the annual and herbaceous perennials have withered and died. The landscape is coated with snow and ice. The coniferous trees retain their needles keeping the country

1. The data given regarding the flora of the Round Lake Area are based on personal observations except in the case of most plant identifications and the distribution of cedar. The latter was supplied by Round Lake Ojibwa informants.
2. See Table 4 for a list of those species which are recognized and named by the Round Lake Ojibwa.
3. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Forest Research Division, A Forest Classification for Canada, 1958. (A revision of Bulletin 89, 1937).
4. Larch was said to have been more common in the past with large trees growing in the area, but a few years ago many died.

TABLE 4

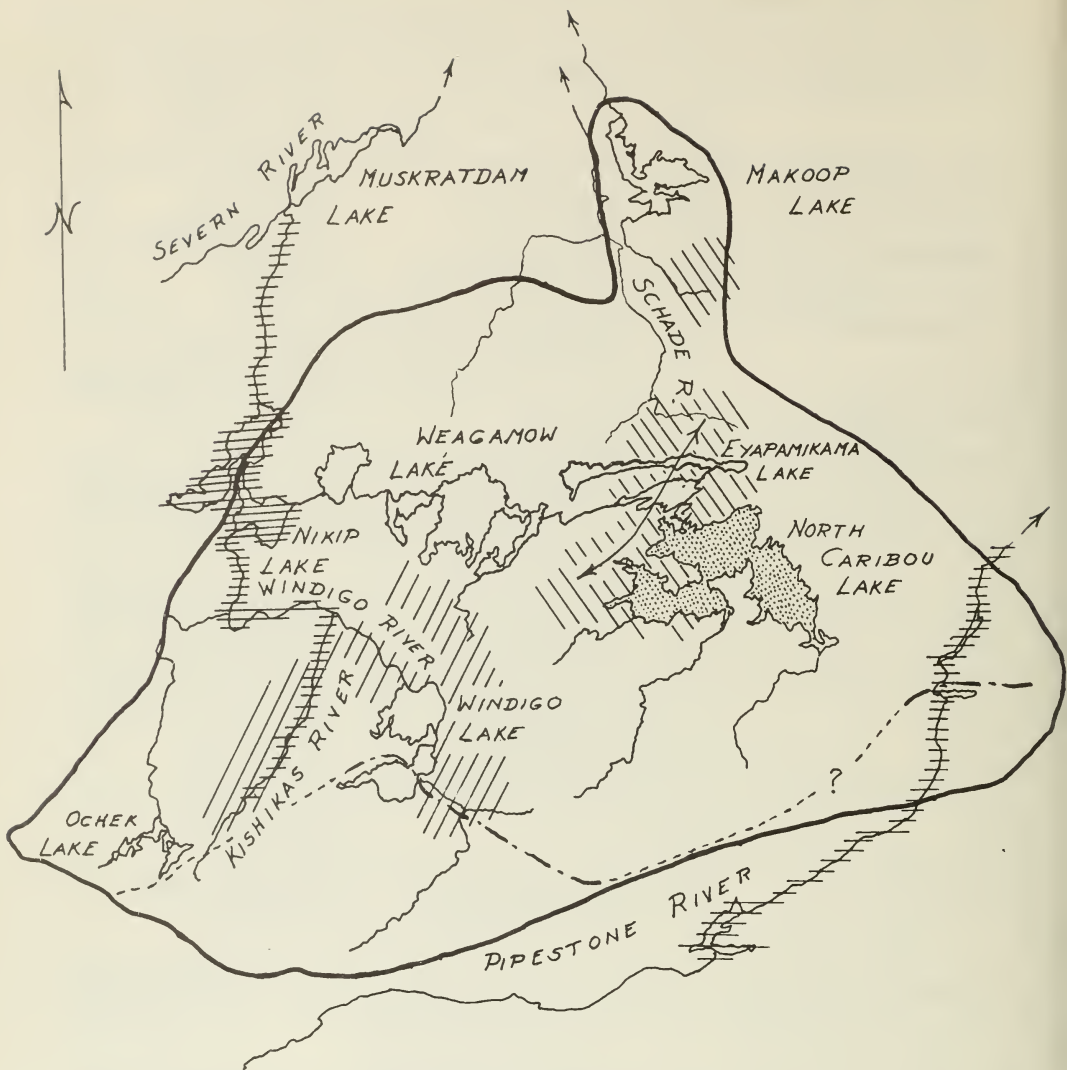
Flora Named by the Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Common Name	Scientific Name	Ojibwa Name
Tripe de Roche*	<u>Umbilicaria</u> spp. <u>Gyrophora</u> spp.	<u>assini'wa'hkon</u>
Old Man's Beard	<u>Usnea</u> sp.	<u>mi'ssa'pa'hkon</u>
Moss		<u>awa'sissi'wahkamik</u>
Moss		<u>wa'pahkamik</u>
Moss		<u>amihkoškiši'wahkamik</u>
Horsetail	<u>Equisetum fluviatile</u> L.	<u>a'nihkawašk</u>
Club Moss	<u>Lycopodium annotinum</u> L. <u>Lycopodium obscurum</u> L.	<u>pa'skina'hkwa'n</u>
Club Moss	var. <u>dendroideum</u> (Michx.) D.C. Eaton	<u>pa'skina'hkwa'n</u>
Balsam Fir*	<u>Abies balsamea</u> (L.) Mill.	<u>napaka'ntakwa'htik</u>
Creeping Savin	<u>Juniperus horizontalis</u> Moench	<u>ka'ka'ki'wa'ntak</u>
Tamarack (Larch)*	<u>Larix laricina</u> (DuRoi) K.Roch	<u>maški'kwa'htik</u>
White Spruce*	<u>Picea glauca</u> (Moench) Voss	<u>minahi'kwa'htik</u>
Black Spruce*	<u>Picea mariana</u> (Mill.) BsP	<u>šikopi'ya'htik</u>
Jack or Banksian Pine*	<u>Pinus Banksiana</u> Lamb.	<u>oska'ntaka'wa'htik</u>
Eastern White Cedar*	<u>Thuja occidentalis</u> L.	<u>kaška'htik</u>
Cattail	<u>Typha</u> sp.	<u>passwe'ka'nak</u>
Pond Weed	<u>Potamogeton Richardsonii</u> (Ar.Benn.) Rydb.	<u>a'sisi'n</u>
Reed	<u>Phragmites communis</u> Trin	<u>assa'kanašk</u>
Bullrush	<u>Scirpus</u> sp.	<u>kihcikami'wašk</u> <u>ansikwašk</u>
Grass	<u>Carex lasiocarpa</u> Ehrh. var. <u>americana</u> Fern.	<u>ma'cišowe'wašk</u>
"	<u>Carex rostrata</u> Stokes	<u>ma'cišowe'wašk</u>
Three-leaved False		
Salomon's Seal	<u>Smilacina trifolia</u> (L.) Desf.	<u>omakahki'min</u>
Blue Flag	<u>Iris versicolor</u> L.	<u>wi'hke'nš</u>
Balsam Poplar*	<u>Populus balsamifera</u> L.	<u>ma'nasa'ti'ya'htik</u>
Trembling Aspen*	<u>Populus tremuloides</u> Michx.	<u>a'sa'ti'ya'htik</u>
Willow	<u>Salix planifolia</u> Pursh.	<u>wi'kopi'ya'htik</u>
Alder	<u>Alnus crispa</u> (Ait.) Pursh.	<u>oto'hpi'ya'htik</u>
White Birch*	<u>Betula papyrifera</u> Marsh	<u>wi'kwa'ssa'htik</u>
Dwarf Birch	<u>Betula pumila</u> L. var. <u>glandulosa</u> (Regel) Fern	<u>atihkohkopi'makwa'htik</u>
Nettle	<u>Urtica</u> sp.	<u>masa'našk</u>
Yellow Water Lilly	<u>Nuphar</u> sp.	<u>okihte'pak</u> <u>opihko'ca'n</u>
Skunk Currant	<u>Ribes glandulosum</u> Grauer	<u>mi'ššici'mina'htik</u>
Gooseberry	<u>Ribes hirtellum</u> Michx.	<u>oša'po'mina'htik</u>
Swamp Red Current	<u>Ribes hudsonianum</u> Richards	<u>manito'mina'htik</u>
" " "	<u>Ribes triste</u> Pall.	<u>manito'mina'htik</u>
Juneberry	<u>Amelanchier humilis</u> Wieg.	<u>kosikwa'hkomina'htik</u>
Pin-cherry	<u>Prunus pensylvanica</u> L.f.	<u>pawahi'mina'na'htik</u>
Cokecherry	<u>Prunus virginian</u> L.	<u>omakahki'mina'htik</u>

Common Name	Scientific Name	Ojibwa Name
Mountain Ash	<u>Sorbus decora</u> (Sarg.) Schneid	<u>mahkomi^ahtik</u>
Prickly Wild Rose	<u>Rosa acicularis</u> Lindl.	<u>okini^awa^ahtik</u>
Smooth Wild Rose	<u>Rosa blanda</u> Ait	<u>okini^awa^ahtik</u>
	<u>Rubus</u> sp.	<u>miskomi^ahtik</u>
Arctic Raspberry	<u>Rubus acaulis</u> Michx.	<u>ote^ahimiⁿ</u>
Bake-apple	<u>Rubus Chamaemorus</u> L.	<u>ohtikwa^animiⁿ</u>
Raspberry	<u>Rubus pubescens</u> Raf.	<u>oški^anšikomini^pak</u>
Fireweed*	<u>Epilobium augustifolium</u> L.	<u>aška^apašk</u>
Bristly Sarsaparilla	<u>Aralia hispida</u> Vent.	<u>pišikomiⁿ</u>
Wild Sarsaparilla	<u>Aralia nudicaulis</u> L.	<u>wa^apo^aso^apak</u> <u>ša^aša^akawa^apikoššimiⁿ</u>
Water-Hemlock*	<u>Cicuta</u> sp.	<u>wi^antiko^ahka^ata^ak</u>
Water-Parsnip	<u>Sium suave</u> Walt.	<u>ohka^atahk</u>
Bunchberry	<u>Cornus canadensis</u> L.	<u>ša^ašša^akomiⁿ</u>
Red-osier Dogwood	<u>Cornus stolonifera</u> Michx.	<u>miskwa^api^amakwa^ahtik</u>
Bog-Rosemary	<u>Andromeda glaucophylla</u> Link.	<u>ma^ankopako^an</u>
Bearberry	<u>Arctostaphylos Uva-ursi</u> (L.) Spreng.	<u>ahpa^ahkisiko^amini^pak</u>
Sheep Laurel	<u>Kalmia polifolia</u> Wang.	<u>ahca^ahkonišš</u>
Labrador Tea	<u>Ledum groenlandicum</u> Oeder	<u>ka^akike^apako^an</u>
Sour-top Bilberry	<u>Vaccinium myrtilloides</u> Mischx.	<u>ani^animi^ana^ahtik</u>
Small Cranberry	<u>Vaccinium Oxycoccus</u> L.	<u>maški^akomiⁿ</u>
Bilberry	<u>Vaccinium uliginosum</u> L.	<u>nihkimi^ahtik</u>
Mountain Cranberry	<u>Vaccinium Vitis-Idaeca</u> L.	<u>mahko^anssimiⁿ</u>
Star Flower	<u>Trientalis borealis</u> Raf.	<u>oški^anšikomiⁿ</u>
Mint	<u>Mentha</u> sp.	<u>ihkwe^awašk</u>
Squashberry	<u>Viburnum edule</u> (Michx.)Raf.	<u>mo^anso^ami^ahtik</u>
High-bush Cranberry	<u>Viburnum trilobum</u> Marsh.	<u>ani^apimi^an</u>

* Those specimens which are starred were identified personally during the course of fieldwork. All others were identified through the kindness of Dr. J. H. Soper, Botany Department, University of Toronto.

from being totally white. With the advent of spring, this aspect begins to change. Depending on climatic conditions, the leaves begin to emerge between the last week in May and the third or fourth week in June. By no later than the first of July the leaves are fully formed. Aquatic plants emerge somewhat later than the terrestrial ones, but all growth is rapid at this time of year. Growth continues during June and July but slowly comes to a stop in the latter part of August. Flowering occurs at different times depending on the species. A few may begin to flower as early as the latter part of June. By July a number are in bloom such as bunchberry, blue flag, pyrola, twin flower, rose, and raspberry. In August fireweed is perhaps the most conspicuous plant in bloom. By the latter part of July berries are beginning to ripen. The skunk currant and gooseberry are two of the first, followed in August by others, such as bake-apple, bearberry, and raspberries. By the end of this month the sour-top bilberries begin to ripen and last until the middle or latter part of September. With the end of August and the beginning of September summer is over and the vegetation begins to alter with the approach of winter. The leaves, birch first, begin to change color. By the end of September almost all have changed and are begin-



MAP 2

THE DISTRIBUTION OF FLORA AND FAUNA, ROUND LAKE AREA

— BOUNDARY OF THE ROUND LAKE OJIBWA

\\\\\\ CARIBOU

≡≡≡ STURGEON

|||| MOOSE

▣ LAKE TROUT

- - - NORTHERN LIMIT OF CEDAR

ning to fall; bare branches are exposed, and plants have withered. Everything appears dead and barren by the middle of October.

Fauna:¹

Mammals: There are approximately thirty species of mammals inhabiting the area of Round Lake (Table 5). Mammals, along with fish, are basic to the livelihood of the Ojibwa. Six mammals are of considerable importance, supplying food and furs. Moose, beaver, and hare are important items of diet: beaver, mink, muskrat, and otter are important fur bearers.

The larger mammals consist of caribou, moose and bear. Caribou still exist in the area but in greatly reduced numbers from former times. Their reduction does not seem explainable in terms of over-hunting by the Round Lake Ojibwa. In general, caribou were never highly prized and hunting of them tended to be minimal. They are today found primarily in the northern and western part of the area (Map 2). They are said to range from west of Caribou Lake, where muskeg exists, to the north of it. Whether there is a seasonal movement between these two areas is not clear. Informants merely said that caribou wandered about in this general area. Occasionally they are sighted to the south of Caribou Lake. Formerly, they were numerous in this area. A few are said to be found to the south and southeast of Makoop Lake but not to the immediate north. No caribou are found between Nikip Lake and Windigo Lake.

Moose are a relatively recent addition to the fauna of the Round Lake Area. Elderly informants state that in their youth moose were found in the vicinity of Windigo Lake but not to the north at Caribou and Weagamow Lakes. Shortly after 1900 moose apparently entered this section of the area and are now found almost everywhere. They are most commonly found to the east, north and west of Windigo Lake (Map 2). There are said to be a few to the north of Weagamow Lake and south of Caribou Lake. The density of moose, although hazardous to estimate on the basis of kills, must approximate one moose to every ten square miles.²

Bear are said to be rather common throughout the area. They are rarely sought by the Round Lake Ojibwa and are, to a certain extent, feared. Cases were recounted of hunters being hurt when trying to kill them. Bear, unlike caribou and moose, hibernate throughout the winter. During the spring, after they have emerged from hibernation, they frequent rapids where they catch fish. Later in the year they are found in localities where berries are abundant.

Beaver are an important animal to the Round Lake Ojibwa because of the food they furnish and for the fur as an item of trade. Their numbers were greatly reduced a few years ago by an epizootic which swept through the area. At present they are becoming more numerous and appear to be relatively evenly distributed. Within each hunter's trapping territory, however, the beaver population is not so evenly distributed, there usually being only a few or one particular section where beaver are at all numerous. This, of course, is to be expected on the basis of habitat distribution.

1. The information given in the following section on fauna was mostly derived from Round Lake Ojibwa informants. Only a limited amount is based on personal observation.
2. This figure is based on the number of moose killed and assuming that this number represents ten percent of the total moose population. See Peterson, Randolph L., 1955, North American Moose, University of Toronto Press, pp199-203. Between fifty and one hundred moose are killed annually in an area of 5,000 square miles.

TABLE 5

Mammals Named by the Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Common Name	Scientific Name	Ojibwa Name
Shrew	<u>Sorex</u> sp.	<u>nana'hpawa'cininke'ssi</u>
Bat		<u>opihkwa'na'nci'ss</u>
Varying Hare	<u>Lepus americanus</u>	<u>wa'po's</u>
Woodchuck	<u>Marmota monax</u>	<u>wi'našk</u>
Western Chipmunk	<u>Eutamias minimus</u>	<u>ša'šša'kwa'na'pikošš</u>
Red Squirrel	<u>Tamiasciurus hudsonicus</u>	<u>wacitamo'</u>
Northern Flying Squ.	<u>Glaucomys sabrinus</u>	<u>šana'ska'tawe'</u>
Beaver ¹	<u>Castor canadensis</u>	<u>a'mihk</u>
Mouse		<u>wa'pikošši'š</u>
Muskrat	<u>Ondatra zibethicus</u>	<u>wacašk</u>
Porcupine	<u>Erethizon dorsatum</u>	<u>ka'k</u>
Brush Wolf ²	<u>Canis latrans</u>	<u>a'pihcimahi'nkan</u>
Timber Wolf	<u>Canis lupus</u>	<u>mahi'nkan</u>
Dog	<u>Canis familiaris</u>	<u>animošš</u>
Red Fox ³	<u>Vulpes vulpes</u>	<u>mahke'šši</u> <u>wa'hkošš</u>
Black Bear	<u>Ursus americanus</u>	<u>mahkwa</u>
Marten	<u>Martes americana</u>	<u>wa'piše'šši</u>
Fisher	<u>Martes pennanti</u>	<u>oci'k</u>
Ermine	<u>Mustela erminea</u>	<u>sinkossi</u>
Mink	<u>Mustela Vison</u>	<u>ša'nkwe'šši</u>
Wolverine	<u>Gulo luscus</u>	<u>ki'koha'ke'</u>
Striped Skunk	<u>Mephitis mephitis</u>	<u>šika'k</u>
Otter	<u>Lutra canadensis</u>	<u>ninkik</u>
Canada Lynx	<u>Lynx canadensis</u>	<u>pišiw</u>

1. The round Lake Ojibwa recognize and name several age classes of beaver.

Baby Beaver	<u>a'mihko'nss</u>
Two Year old Beaver	<u>poyawe'nss</u>
Old Beaver	<u>kihci-a'mihk</u>

2. a'pihcimahi'nkan on the basis of informants' statements and identification of pictures is the brush wolf. The Round Lake Ojibwa, however, have another word, po'ta'wahke'šši, which they contend refers to the Grey Fox, Urocyon cinereoaryenteus. Since this species does not inhabit the area of Round Lake po'ta'wahke'šši must refer to the Brush Wolf or a color phase of the Red Fox.
3. The Round Lake Ojibwa recognize and name several color phases of the Red Fox.

Black Fox	<u>mahkate'wahke'šši</u>
Cross Fox	<u>assa'te'wahke'šši</u>
Red Fox	<u>osa'wahke'šši</u>

The Round Lake Ojibwa also know of the Arctic Fox and call it wa'pahke'šši. This species, however, does not inhabit the area of Round Lake but is found to the north.

Common Name	Scientific Name	Ojibwa Name
White-tailed deer ⁴	<u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	<u>wa'wa'hke'sši</u>
Moose	<u>Alces alces</u>	<u>mo'ns</u>
Woodland Caribou	<u>Rangifer caribou</u>	<u>atihk</u>

4. Informants say that at present white-tailed deer are not found in the area of Round Lake. On the other hand men in their thirties and forties remember hunting deer and say that when they were young men deer were "plentiful." This would have been in the 1940's at a time when deer were first moving northward into this area.

Other fur bearers in the area of Round Lake consist of mink, otter, muskrat, fisher, fox, lynx, marten, squirrel and ermine. In general, all of these species are evenly distributed throughout the area but with variable distribution within any one territory. Mink, muskrat, red squirrel, and ermine are the most numerous of all the fur bearers. There are few lynx, fox, and fisher. Marten are practically non-existent.

There are few porcupine although they have occasionally been taken during the last twenty to twenty-five years. Their rarity is suggested by the following. About fifteen years ago when a porcupine wandered into the village of Bearskin everyone was called to see it. This was the only porcupine the informant, who witnessed the event, had ever seen. Wolverine are rare or absent; woodchuck and skunks, although present, are rarely killed.

Hares are of prime importance to the Round Lake Ojibwa. In numbers, they furnish a large amount of food and in the past, but only to a limited extent today, skins for garments and bedding. They are found throughout the area of Round Lake, but are subject to a violent periodic fluctuation in numbers. In years of abundance they can be found almost anywhere. At the bottom of the cycle they are rare and difficult for the Round Lake Ojibwa to obtain. During 1958-59 hares were said to be common, but one informant said that they had been most numerous in 1956-57. As they are active all year, they form an assured food supply when abundant.

Wolves, even though they are not numerous or economically important, are disturbing to the Round Lake Ojibwa. During the winter, signs of wolves are a matter for discussion and concern. Occasionally, one or two are said to invade the environs of the village and sometimes kill some of the dogs. In the winter of 1956-57 six dogs were stated to have been killed by wolves, and two wolves were killed, one in a snare and the other in a steel trap.

Birds: The exact number of species of birds which inhabit or visit the area of Round Lake during the year is not known but must exceed one hundred. The Round Lake Ojibwa name at least one half of these and perhaps more (Table 6). Few of the birds, aside from waterfowl and grouse, are of any importance to the people.

The bird population of the area of Round Lake varies according to the season and characteristics of certain species. There are few permanent residents, a large number of summer residents, and a few winter residents. There are a great many transient visitants which migrate through the area spring and fall but rarely remain for long.

Species of Bird	M o n t h											
	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Crow												---?---
Duck												-----
Canada Goose												-----
Snow & Blue Goose												-----
Gull												-----
Loon												-----
Robin												-----

Fig. 6 - The Time of Arrival and Departure of Certain Species of Birds.

During the winter months (November-March) very few birds are to be seen. Raven are said to remain all winter but few are in evidence. They are of importance to the Round Lake Ojibwa because of the damage they do to the pelts of animals caught in traps. Grouse (spruce, ruffed, and sharp-tailed) are permanent winter residents but their numbers appear to fluctuate from year to year. Ruffed grouse are thought to be the most numerous species. Other winter species include redpoll, chickadee, and gray jay. It is during the winter that the snowy owl and ptarmigan most frequently appear, but not every year. During the winter of 1958-59 no one reported seeing any ptarmigan. When they do come they seem to enter only the northern part of the area.

With the increasing warmth as summer approaches, more birds begin to appear (Fig. 6). Crow and snow bunting are the first to arrive, appearing during the last week of March or first two weeks of April. Duck start to arrive about the middle of April but if the weather remains unduly cold it may be later. Canada geese come a few days after the first ducks, and snow and blue geese a week or two after the Canada geese. Gulls and loons as a rule arrive the first part of May. Juncoes and then robins put in an appearance between the end of April and the second half of May. With the disappearance of the snow, other song birds flock back to the area.

Many of these species are merely transient visitants remaining in the area of Round Lake for a few days to a few weeks and then moving farther north to their nesting grounds. In the case of waterfowl they must wait until open water appears ahead of them. The snow and blue geese rarely land, but continue northward. Other species of waterfowl, such as ducks and Canada geese, land in the small patches of open water that exist at the time of their arrival and are then rather easily killed by the hunters. By the time the ice has nearly gone the majority of the waterfowl have left, or dispersed throughout the area to nest.

After the spring peak in bird numbers the population decreases rather drastically. During the summer a few species of duck (Common Merganser, American Goldeneye, Green-winged Teal, and perhaps others) nest in the area. No geese are said to do so. The ducks that remain tend to be rather numerous. Nesting takes place the latter part of June¹ and the young hatch toward the middle to latter part of July. Other species that remain in the area all summer are the great blue heron, osprey, bald eagle, gulls, terns, loons (Which are fairly numerous), ravens, crows, grouse, and a host of smaller birds.

With the coming of fall, those birds which leave the area begin to band together preparatory to their flight southward and the transient visitants of the

1. This is also true of the other species nesting in the area.

TABLE 6
Birds Named by the Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-59

Common Name	Scientific Name	Ojibwa Name
Common Loon*	<u>Gavia immer</u>	ma'nk
Red-throated Loon	<u>Gavia stellata</u>	a'sššima'nk
Grebe	<u>Podiceps sp.</u>	sikipiss
American Bittern	<u>Botaurus lentiginos</u>	mo'skaho'ssi
Great Blue Heron	<u>Ardea herodias</u>	mo'skaho'ssi
Whistling Swan*	<u>Olor columbianus</u>	wa'pisi'
Canada Goose*	<u>Branta canadensis</u>	nihka
Brant	<u>Branta bernicla</u>	a'pihcikiss
Snow Goose*	<u>Chen hyperborea</u>	wa'piwe'hwe'
Blue Goose*	<u>Chen caerulescens</u>	a'pihciwe'hwe' . we'hwe'
Mallard	<u>Anas P. platyrhynchos</u>	i'niniššip
Black Duck	<u>Anas rubripes</u>	mahkate'wininiššip
Pintail	<u>Anas acuta</u>	kinwa'hkokwayowe'wiššip
Green-winged Teal*	<u>Anas carolinensis</u>	a'pihciššip
American Widgeon	<u>Mareca americana</u>	wa'pištikwa'ne'wiššip
Shoveler	<u>Spatula clypeata</u>	te'ssikote'wiššip
Scaup	<u>Aythya sp.</u>	takwa'koššip
Common Goldeneye*	<u>Bucephala clangula americana</u>	pikwahko'sššip
Buffle-head	<u>Bucephala albeola</u>	wa'piššip
White-winged		
Scoter	<u>Melanitta deglardi</u>	kihci-mahkate'sššip
Surf Scoter	<u>Melanitta perspicillata</u>	mahkate'sššip
Common Scoter	<u>Oidemia nigra americana</u>	mahkate'sššip
Common Merganser*	<u>Mergus merganser americana</u>	kihtansik, ansik
Spruce Grouse*	<u>Canachites canadensis</u>	natopine', pine'
Ruffed Grouse*	<u>Bonasa umbellus</u>	papaški, pine'
Willow Ptarmigan*	<u>Lagopus l. albus</u>	wa'pisse', pine'
Sharp-tailed Grouse*	<u>Pedioecetes phasianellus</u>	a'kasko', pine'
Common Snipe	<u>Capella gallinago delicata</u>	panipa'ke
Spotted Sandpiper	<u>Actitis macularia</u>	ca'hca'nkahamotiye'ssi
Greater Yellowlegs	<u>Totanus melanoleucus</u>	še'sše'sšši
Gull*	<u>Larus sp.</u>	kiya'sk
Great Horned Owl	<u>Bubo virginianus</u>	o'homisiw mahkate'wiko'hko'hkoho'
Snowy Owl	<u>Nyctea scandiaca</u>	wa'piko'hko'hkoho'
Common Nighthawk*	<u>Chordeiles minor</u>	pe'sk
Belted Kingfisher*	<u>Megaceryle o. alcyon</u>	ki'skimanissi'
Yellow-shafted Flicker	<u>Colaptes auratus</u>	mo'nikwane'
Yellow-bellied		
Sapsucker	<u>Sphyrapicus v. varius</u>	cipe'se'
Woodpecker	<u>Picoides sp.</u>	pa'hpa'se'
Gray Jay*	<u>Perisoreus canadensis</u>	ki'kwi'sšši
Common Raven*	<u>Corvus corax</u>	ka'hka'ki
Common Crow*	<u>Corvus b. brachyrhynchos</u>	a'ha'ssi
Black-capped Chickadee	<u>Parus atricapillus</u>	kicika'ne'sšši's
Red-winged Blackbird	<u>Agelaius phoeniceus</u>	cahcahkan'o'
Pine Grosbeak	<u>Pinicola enucleator leucura</u>	ohkanisse'
Robin*	<u>Turdus migratorius</u>	pihiphici

* Starred names are thought to be accurate as to identification. In most cases the bird was seen and positively identified. The unstarred species were identified on the basis of informants' descriptions and from pointing out the bird in Peterson, Roger Tory. 1956, A Field Guide to the Birds, Boston. Accordingly, some of these at least are undoubtedly incorrectly identified.

spring return, stopping for a short time in the area. The ducks and geese return from the north the last week in September and the first part of October. They are accompanied by many shore birds. The snow and blue geese do not stop, and at this time of year instead of passing over Weagamow Lake as in the spring take routes to the east and west. They arrive the middle to latter part of October. Flocks of juncoes appear the latter part of September. October and November are the months of departure (Fig. 6). By the middle of October the smaller birds have mostly left the area except for snow buntings, a few juncoes and similar hardy species. By the first week in November there are few ducks, geese, gulls, terns or loons left, and these leave soon thereafter. The crows are perhaps the last to leave.

Fall is a time of an abundant bird population: it is greater than at any other time of the year. Not only have large numbers of birds such as the ducks and geese arrived from the north, but there has been a natural increase in the population from the successful completion of nesting. It is at this time that grouse are most numerous and are most actively sought.

Reptiles and Amphibians: There are few reptiles and amphibians in the area of Round Lake, and they are relatively unimportant to the people (Table 7). The garter snake is the only species inhabiting the area and are said to be numerous in places. Snakes are greatly feared, at least by some of the people, but one informant claimed that some people are not afraid to handle them. No frogs were seen but probably several species inhabit the area. Toads, on the other hand, are fairly common. All of these species remain dormant throughout the winter months and become active only toward the end of May.

TABLE 7

Reptiles and Amphibians Named by the Round Lake Ojibwa 1958-1959

Common Name	Scientific Name	Ojibwa Name
Frog	<u>Rana</u> spp.	omakahki*
Toad	<u>Bufo</u> sp.	omakahki*
Snake, garter	<u>Thamnophis sirtalis</u>	kine*pik

Fish: Fish (Table 8) along with mammals, are basic to the life of the Round Lake Ojibwa and are a principle article of food. Several species form a cash crop. They are relatively abundant in the area of Round Lake, every lake and stream being supplied in varying degrees. One informant contended that the numbers of fish in Weagamow Lake has decreased in recent years because of commercial fishing. Although possible, this does not seem likely and only adequate research could resolve the problem. Some species are found widely dispersed throughout the area; others are restricted in their distribution.

Yellow perch, northern pike, white sucker, lake whitefish, and walleye (commonly referred to as Pickerel or Yellow) are wide ranging, being found in all or nearly all the ponds, lakes, streams and rivers. Ling, on the other hand, are said to be found primarily in the larger lakes. Longnose suckers are randomly distributed. Lake trout are found only in Caribou Lake and several smaller lakes in the immediate vicinity but are not common. One informant claimed that an "old timer" told him that in the past there were lake trout in Weagamow Lake. Sturgeon inhabit the Kishikas River and from its junction with the Windigo River downstream to Nikip Lake and thence down the Windigo River to the Severn. Occasionally they are said to get as far as Weagamow Lake. They are also found along the Pipestone River as far south as Horseshoe Lake and perhaps beyond.

TABLE 8

Fish Named by the Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Common Name	Scientific Name	Ojibwa Name
Lake Sturgeon	<u>Acipenser fulvescens</u>	name'
Goldeye ¹	<u>Hiodon alosoides</u>	wi'pici'
Brook Trout ²	<u>Salvelinus fontinalis</u>	ma'same'koss
Lake Trout	<u>Salvelinus namaycush</u>	name'koss
Lake Whitefish	<u>Coregonus clupeaformis</u>	atihkame'k
White Sucker	<u>Catostomus commersoni</u>	name'pin
Longnose Sucker	<u>Catostomus catostomus</u>	miskome'pin
Northern Pike	<u>Esox lucius</u>	kino'se'nšš nicwa'pi'sš
Burbot (ling)	<u>Lota lota</u>	misay
Yellow Perch	<u>Perca flavescens</u>	assa'hwe'
Walleye	<u>Stizostedion vitreum</u>	oka'nss

1. Goldeye do not enter the area of Round Lake. Informants say that they occur in the Severn River to the west of Weagamow Lake and Sandy Lake.
2. One informant, a man originally from Bearskin and married to a Fort Severn woman, thought there were a few brook trout in the area of Round Lake. None were ever seen, and it is suspected that he was mistaken.

Although the distribution of fish in the Round Lake area is substantially as given above, all species have seasonal movements. These movements were and to a certain extent still are extremely important in the lives of the Round Lake Ojibwa. The people believe that during the winter months the fish move into deep water and here remain more or less inactive. As the temperature begins to rise, especially toward the latter part of February, the fish are thought to begin to move around. In March there is a greater movement and the fish begin to concentrate prior to spawning. Spring is the time when the greatest majority of species spawn. They then move in large schools onto the spawning beds where they can easily be secured with gill nets. According to informants statements and the increased size of catches then made walleye are numerous on the spawning beds by the latter part of May. Soon thereafter they scatter. During the summer months, many fish tend to remain in shallow water and move about along the shoreline. About the first week in October whitefish, in large schools, and lake trout move into particular shallows where they spawn. For the next few weeks they remain here. After this they disperse to deeper water according to to informants. During the period of spawning whitefish are said to move up stream but about October 20 to 25th these fish begin to descend the streams. This movement is thought to last until the end of November. It is during this period of movement downstream that the fish trap can be employed most effectively.

Except for sturgeon, lake trout, and northern pike none of the fish grow to a very large size. Perch are quite small. Ling, suckers, and whitefish average one to three pounds apiece. Occasionally whitefish of about five pounds are taken. The largest walleye seen weighed just over seven pounds. The northern pike caught generally do not weigh much more than this. The maximum weights for lake trout and sturgeon are not known but they would be considerably more than for any of the above species.

Invertebrates:¹ There are a number of species of invertebrates in the area of Round Lake and, for certain species, a very large number of individuals. Nevertheless, few affect the lives of the Round Lake Ojibwa and then as a rule for only a short time each year. The most important of these are the insects, especially black flies and mosquitoes. Some species of flies and other insects can be observed as early as the middle of April on warm days. Mosquitoes and black flies do not put in an appearance until toward the end of May but by the first of June they have become numerous. They remain all summer but their numbers decrease near the end of August and disappear during the next month or two. The black flies and mosquitoes are annoying but cause no real harm. During the latter part of July, mayflies emerge in tremendous numbers. These are important as a source of fish food and therefore indirectly benefit the Round Lake Ojibwa. There is no evidence for internal parasites, although the Round Lake Ojibwa may be infected with the fish tape worm. Their dogs are in some cases heavily infected with "worms".

TABLE 9

Invertebrates Named by the Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Ojibwa Name</u>
Butterfly & Moth	<u>me'me'nkwe'</u>
Bee	<u>a'mo'</u>
Beetle	<u>mahkotikom</u>
Crayfish	<u>ašš'a'ke'</u>
Dragon Fly	<u>ci'we'skan</u>
Black Fly	<u>pihkoci'ssi</u>
Bluebottle Fly	<u>o'ci'</u>
House Fly	<u>o'ci'nes</u>
Moose Fly	<u>misisa'hk</u>
Grasshopper	<u>pahpahkine'</u> <u>okwa'skocaha'mi'šš</u>
Mayfly and similar forms	<u>omi'mi'ssi</u>
Mosquito	<u>sakime'</u>
Snail, water	<u>sanakaskway</u>
Spider	<u>otassapihke'šši'šš</u>
Various invertebrates which inhabit wood	<u>e'niko</u> <u>mo'sse'</u>

1. See Table 9 for invertebrates named by the Round Lake Ojibwa.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction:

The Round Lake Ojibwa have only recently come under the influence and domination of Euro-Canadians. Sixty years ago they were autonomous, following rather closely their old way of life. The trader was the first intruder from outside, the missionary closely followed and recently government personnel have moved into the area. Within the last few years, prospectors and mining personnel have made their appearance, and it is to be suspected that the tourist is not far behind.

Outline of Aboriginal Culture (circa 1900):

In 1900 there was no single group which might have been designated as the Round Lake Ojibwa. The area now occupied was then inhabited by at least four bands¹ referred to as atihkopi'wininiwak ("caribou lake people"), wa'wiye-kama'wininiwak ("round lake people"), wi'ntiko'wininiwak ("windigo people"), and mahkopi'wininiwak ("makoop people"). There was a fifth group called oci'kosa'kahikani'wininiwak ("fisher lake people") which at times appears to have been an independent unit and at others to have merged with the wi'ntiko'wininiwak or with peoples to the west at MacDowell Lake. All bands were relatively small, each consisting of some twenty-five to seventy-five people.

Each band was under the direction of a leader (okima')² whose position was neither elective nor hereditary. Rather, he was a charismatic individual who appears to have had superior religious power with which he could protect the group from harm. The leader contributed goods to the group, cared for the sick and orphaned, and settled internal group differences. He also organized and held feasts at stated times of the year. One exceptional leader was said to have unified the four bands of atihkopi'wininiwak, wa'wiye-kama'wininiwak, wi'ntiko'wininiwak, and oci'kosa'kahikani'wininiwak, although the union dissolved on his death.

Each band tended to be endogamous in so far as possible but, in practice, the small size of the group precluded complete endogamy. Approximately one half of the wives at any one time came from surrounding bands. Each band intermarried most frequently with those closest to it and the five bands listed above tended to intermarry more frequently among themselves than with other surrounding bands. Although this was true, atihkopi'wininiwak also had close marriage ties with Big Beaverhouse, mahkopi'wininiwak with Bearskin, and oci'kosa'kahikani'wininiwak with MacDowell Lake. Inter-marriage was infrequent with the neighboring groups at Sandy, Sachigo, Big Trout, and Cat Lakes. It was with these groups that the people in the Round Lake area had the most trouble, arising frequently over women and trade goods. Troubles were limited among the five bands themselves. Although the need for marriage partners appears to have been the major force unifying the people living in the Round Lake area, it was not enough to develop a strong political union. At no time did they form a real political entity in opposition to like groups, nor did they have a common name for themselves, although one informant contended that formerly others knew the people of this area by the name, ocickosic. The people of the Round Lake area referred to those living north of them at Fort Severn, Winisk, God's Lake, York

1. See Introduction to Social Organization, page B3, for discussion of the concept "band."
2. Today this term is reserved for the Hudson's Bay Company's post manager and the chief is referred to as okima'hkan.

Factory, Sachigo, Bearskin, and Big Trout Lake as maški'ko-aniššini ("muskeg people"), those to the west at Sandy and Deer Lakes as ociskawawinini ("people from where the winds come") and those to the south at Cat Lake, Lansdowne, and Osnaburg as nahkawe'-aniššini. These are relative terms. Trout Lake people for instance consider the Round Lake Ojibwa as part of the nahkawe'-aniššini although the Round Lake people declare that they are not a part of this group.

Fifty to sixty years ago the people lived by hunting, trapping, and fishing with little collecting of plant foods. The game secured furnished food and clothing. Fishing was of extreme importance, large numbers being taken in the fall by means of fish traps (micihkan) set in suitable rapids. During the winter set lines (po'nakohka'n) and jigging (kwa'skwe'picikan) were utilized. In spring fish were occasionally speared (micihke') or shot with bow (ahca'p) and arrow (pikwahk). During the summer set lines might be used (Table 10 and 11) Informants contend that they did not have the gill net until traders furnished them with string.

Although there were no hunting territories at this time, there were particular areas which were habitually exploited by the same people year after year. Animals sought were bear, caribou, and beaver, which at times provided a large amount of food and informants state that hare were also of primary importance. Other small mammals were relatively unimportant until traders began to seek furs intensively. Mammals were taken in snares and deadfalls, or shot with bow and arrow (Table 12). In winter beaver were secured by flooding them out of their homes, a technique called e'ske'. At that time there were very few steel traps and muzzle loaders. Waterfowl and grouse played some part in the diet of the people. Birds were shot with bow and arrow and crossbow, or captured in snares. Sometimes decoys were used to lure waterfowl within range: these either consisted of a small white dog or wooden models of the species sought.

TABLE 10

Months during which Fishing Equipment was Employed in the Past

Fishing Equipment	M o n t h												
	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	
Fish Trap					X	X							
Set Line	X							X	X	X			
Jigging						X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Spear	X	X											X
Bow	X	X											X
Gaff													

In order to exploit the environment, the people remained scattered throughout the area for the greater part of the year. Every summer the members of each band usually gathered on the shores of certain lakes: Caribou, Weagamow, and Windigo Lakes being favorite gathering spots. Occasionally families visited other bands at their summer gatherings. Fishing was said to be important at this time of year, but without the gill net this does not seem probable. Hares were snared and pine' and waterfowl shot. Eggs were collected and, later in the summer, berries.

With the approach of fall the people separated into hunting groups and moved to their hunting areas. Each hunting group appears to have been quite small,

TABLE 11

Techniques used in the Capture of Particular Species of Fish in the Past

Fishing Equipment	Species of Fish							
	lake							
	perch	whitefish	pike	suckers	sturgeon	trout	burbot	walleye
Fish Trap	X		*					
Set Line					X	X	X	
Jigging	X		X			X	X	X
Spear			X		X			
Bow			X					
Gaff			*	X				

* few taken this way.

TABLE 12

Techniques used in the Capture of Particular Species of Mammals in the Past

Species of Mammal	Technique of Capture					
	Deadfall	Snare	Hook	Bow	Crossbow	Sling
	Hare		X		X	
Woodchuck						
Red Squirrel		X		X	X	X
Beaver	X		X			
Muskrat		X			X	
Wolf						
Fox	?					
Bear	X	X				
Marten	X					
Fisher	X					
Ermine	X			X		
Mink	X					
Wolverine	X					
Skunk						
Otter	X					
Lynx	?	?				
Caribou						

averaging between ten and fifteen individuals. It was composed of two to four closely related families under the direction of the eldest male. Camps were first established near rapids, fish traps built, and large quantities of whitefish caught and dried for the winter. After this the hunting groups as a rule moved again, this time to a suitable place for hunting. There was a limited amount of trapping of fur bearers for sale. Right after freeze-up the members of the band occasionally gathered for a feast. If not they waited until the latter part of December when they moved back to where they had spent the summer. Here the leader of the band had generally spent the fall. Feasts were held and in general a festive few weeks ensued.

After the first of the year the people separated once more into hunting groups this time to move through the bush, snaring hares wherever possible, and to seek out lakes productive of fish. Since only a few fish could be caught in any one lake at this time of year, the groups had to be constantly on the move. The women and old people fished while the more active males went hunting. If food became scarce, which does not appear to have happened very frequently, the people resorted to lichens (assini'wahkon) for food.

With the arrival of spring life became easier. Fishing was highly productive, large numbers of waterfowl returned from the south, and bear were occasionally killed. During this period, the hunting groups moved to where they had left their canoes in the fall. Otherwise they would be left with no means of travel once the ice melted. Immediately after break-up the people gathered at the summer encampment for a feast, at which they danced and sang to the music of a drum. Fifty or sixty years ago only the band leaders lived in log cabins (wa'hka'hikan) when at the summer encampment. Other people lived in one of several other varieties of structures. The particular variety employed often depended on the time of year. There were three varieties of conical lodge. In one (pihkoka'n), the frame was covered with boughs (šikop) and employed primarily during the winter months when it could be covered with snow. At other times of the year a bark-covered conical lodge (wanake'hko-matokwa'n) was used, especially by people who were traveling. During the summer, fall, and early winter an earth covered conical lodge (maški'kokamik or ahki'ho'ka'n) was often utilized. This type was not erected during winter since the materials for covering it could not be obtained. Large lodges (ša'pontawa'n), in the form of a double pitched roof with a door at either end, were erected when several families wished to live together, or for a polygynous family, or when a feast and dance were held. When people were on the move or the men were out hunting they sometimes built an open-topped shelter (napane'ho'ka'n) for the night.

Clothing consisted largely of garments made of rabbitskins - parkas, hoods, mittens, leggings, and children's moccasins. Children also wore fishskin moccasins. Adults had caribou hide moccasins, mittens, and perhaps parkas.

Transportation during the winter was by toboggan, drawn by dogs, perhaps sleds, and snowshoes both laced and wooden. Birchbark canoes were used in summer, and these were always constructed during May and early June, rarely in the fall. Tools were relatively simple, made of bone, or scraps of metal which were being traded into the area.

Although Christianity was entering the area around the turn of the century, the native religious rites continued to be practiced for a number of years. Since these are described in Part IV, Religion, there is no need to elaborate on them here.

Outline of Euro-Canadian Contacts (1670-1959):

Introduction: Much of what has been said above regarding the life of the people has changed during the past sixty years. The change, however, has in many ways been quite superficial. Cabins have replaced the old lodge types, store clothing has been substituted for that of native manufacture, steel traps and wire snares have taken the place of those of wood and native fibres, guns have replaced the bow and crossbow, canvas canoes those of birchbark, and store food has augmented part of that formerly obtained from the land. Yet for all these changes much of the old remains, especially in terms of the attitudes, beliefs, and values of the people. They have not become Euro-Canadians nor have they basically even moved in that direction. Although they have changed, it is along lines of their own.

The fact that the people have not become Westernized can be explained as due at least to the following factors: the resistance with which many cultures meet radical changes; internal arrangements which prevent particular changes; the short period of contact with Euro-Canadians. Traders and missionaries were the first to enter the area around the turn of the century. Later, government officials began to contact the people. At first the Round Lake Ojibwa were afraid of the Euro-Canadians. Later they became friendly, and finally they have become distrustful and resentful.

The Trader (1670-1875): By the late 17th century the Hudson's Bay Company had established posts at various points in Hudson and James Bays. During the next two centuries trading posts were slowly extended inland both by the Company and other traders, but not as far as the area of Round Lake. Nevertheless, trade goods in limited amounts must have found their way into the hands of the people from an early date. Metal tools or metal with which to make tools were probably the earliest acquisitions. It was not until the latter part of the 19th century that trading posts were established within the vicinity of the Round Round Lake Area. The opening up of the area to traders took place as a series of small advances primarily from three directions - north, south, and west. The direction from which contact came was in large measure determined by the particular type of transport available at any one stage or period.

The Trader (1875-1934): The Round Lake Area was contacted, as mentioned above, from the north, the south, and the west. The northern and southern thrusts occurred at approximately the same time.¹ The northern thrust began when the Hudson's Bay Company established a post on Big Trout Lake towards the end of the last century. One informant thought this occurred between seventy and one hundred years ago. A shaman had prophesied that the traders were coming, and they arrived in ten large wooden boats each manned by ten² men from Fort Severn. First liquor was distributed but three days later, when everyone was sober, trading began. To secure a gun beaver pelts were piled to its height. Sometimes three men would pool their pelts to obtain a gun. A large bundle of furs was needed to secure a tea kettle. After the post was established at Big Trout Lake a brigade took the winter's collection of furs to Fort Severn each summer. Here trade goods destined for the post at Big Trout Lake were secured. The trip took from one to two months. It is said that in the brigade there were five "canoes" which were rowed, each manned by five men. Each man had ten "pieces" to carry on the portages and as much as 500 pounds was said to have been carried by one man on a portage if it was a short one. The stern man and bowman were each paid \$40.00 for a round trip and the rest of the crew \$35.00 each. It was a long hard trip, the men working from early morning until dark. Accidents and an occasional death occurred on the trips and were thought to be due to a shaman at Fort Severn. Each summer the Trout Lake men took gifts of tobacco and fish powder to this man in the hopes of assuaging his anger, but this was unsuccessful and finally a Trout Lake shaman had to take a hand and destroy him.

1. The historical data presented here are derived primarily from the Round Lake Ojibwa themselves and include traditional embellishment and cultural interpretations. It is checked where possible with statements of Euro-Canadians who are familiar with the area. Where it has not been possible to check such statements as dates, there is quite likely a discrepancy of a few years from the actual date of the event. Informants could only approximate.
2. Ten is a symbolic number to the Round Lake Ojibwa.

During this period small quantities of supplies were sent from Big Trout Lake as camp trade to Casabanaca, Bearskin, and Big Beaverhouse. Nevertheless few trade goods entered the Round Lake area before 1900. Shortly after this, the people of Caribou and Weagamow Lakes began to go to Big Trout Lake for their supplies. It is said that only the men went on these trips and only in late summer or early fall. They obtained a little flour, tea and a few fish nets. Informants remember that as recently as thirty years ago they still had very little in the way of trade goods. One informant said that he first saw beans and rolled oats about 1925 when he was nearly ten years old. Later he had lard and butter but these he did not like. When he was a little older he saw jam for the first time. This man was from Weagamow Lake, and these people were the last to receive trade goods.

In the early 1900's (actually perhaps later than this) traders from Island Lake and Norway House began to travel through the country during the winter with a supply of goods, trading for furs as they went. Hudson's Bay Company personnel from Big Trout Lake, taking tea, matches, and a little clothing, made the rounds of the winter camps. None of these traders seem to have made many trips directly into the area of Round Lake. Throughout this entire period the people from here generally traveled either to Big Trout or Cat Lake where there were posts for their supplies.

As these developments took place in the north, similar events occurred in the south. Toward the end of the last century, a few individuals occasionally went to Osnaburg House to trade. The grandfather of one middle-aged informant had made the trip from Weagamow Lake, and it was the first time he had ever seen or tasted flour and tea or seen a wire hare snare. Eventually a post was established at Cat Lake, reducing considerably the distance the people had to travel for supplies. From Cat Lake expansion into the Round Lake Area was made. One informant contends that a small store was operated at Windigo Lake by an Ojibwa about the time of the First World War. If so, this was the first trading establishment actually within the area. The store at Windigo Lake soon closed, and it was not until about 1925 that another outpost was established, this time at Kishikas or Cedar Lake. This outpost was maintained for about three years and then moved to Little Kishikas Lake where it remained until 1934. The store was of very small size and generally run by an Ojibwa. In 1934 the outpost was moved to Windigo Lake.

At the time of the above events, trade routes were being opened up from the west. Beginning perhaps ten to fifteen years after the turn of the century trade goods began to be brought into the country from Lake Winnipeg to posts on Deer and Sandy Lakes. Supplies were carried by brigades as they were to Big Trout Lake, and this practice was continued until the 1930's. The supplies were said to have come by way of the Berens River¹, and at times men from the Round Lake Area worked on the brigades. From Deer Lake supplies were forwarded to Nikip where there was a small store. This was established around 1920 but lasted only four years before going bankrupt. While it was in operation the people of Caribou, Windigo, and Weagamow Lakes traded there. After it closed the Windigo Lake people returned to trading at Cat Lake, and presumably the Caribou and Weagamow Lakes people traveled to Trout Lake for supplies.

The Trader (1934-1959): The 1930's ushered in a new stage in the operation of trading posts in the north. Planes came into use and posts could be more fully supplied and new posts established in more remote areas. When the store at Little Kishikas Lake was moved to Windigo Lake in 1934, it was said 1. Informants frequently spoke of a "French River" which may be the same.

that the move was made by plane. For a few years the store remained as a camp trade operated from Cat Lake and under the supervision of an Ojibwa, but in 1943 it was made a post and a manager assigned to it. From this time on more and more supplies came into the hands of the Round Lake Ojibwa.¹ People from Weagamow and Caribou Lakes no longer needed to make the long trip to Big Trout Lake but could trade much nearer home. During this same time camp trades were established at Weagamow and Caribou Lakes. They appear to have been rather small establishments, although relatively substantial buildings were erected at Caribou Lake. In 1949, the Hudson's Bay Company built a post at Weagamow Lake. The post at Windigo Lake was closed and the goods from here, and shortly thereafter from Caribou Lake, were brought by plane to the new post. Camp trades run by Round Lake Ojibwa are still conducted during the winter months at Windigo and Caribou Lakes.

A new development took place near the end of this period, when tractor trains begin to haul in bulk supplies during the winter months. The route from Lake Winnipeg by way of Sandy Lake to Weagamow Lake is still in operation. In 1959 there was discussion of the possibility of tractor trains coming from Pickle Lake in the near future. Although the tractors haul in large amounts of freight, planes are still used to a considerable extent.

The Missionary: As one elderly informant said, "First came the Hudson's Bay Company and then came the Anglicans." Anglican missionaries, coming from the north, were the first churchmen to penetrate the area. Although missionaries were said to have been traveling through the country to the north of the Round Lake Area before the turn of the century, the first missionary remembered today is William Dick, an Indian. With a companion he came to Trout Lake from York Factory just before or after the turn of the century. He was apparently a very remarkable man and left a deep impression on the people, as well as firmly establishing the Anglican faith in the area of Round Lake.

After William Dick settled at Big Trout Lake he made a tour every winter of the country, including Caribou and Weagamow Lakes, Big Beaverhouse and Casabanaca. Along with his many duties he trained several of the men in the Round Lake Area as Anglican catechists. Among these was the leader of the wi^ontiko^owininiwak, who later trained a leader of the wa^owiye^okama^owininiwak. These men, trained by William Dick, converted their followers and organized church services. William Dick died about 1910, but the foundation of the Anglican Church in the area of Round Lake had been firmly established.

Christianity appears to have been rather easily accepted by the people in the area of Round Lake.² This can be explained partly by the fact that native preachers introduced the new faith and because of a widely discussed vision one shaman received. This man told the people that his "power"³ was going. Each night he dreamed of a white light or a bright area which drew closer all the time and moved across his field of vision to the north. He was powerless to stop this. Later the people learned that a bishop was traveling through the area at the time. Accordingly, it was thought that Christian power must be greater than that of the shamans.

1. Informants contend that it was only about twenty years ago that they began to receive store goods in any quantity.
2. Christianity did not, however, spread south and west of the Round Lake Area and to this day a religious cleavage exists between the Round Lake people and those to the south and west.
3. See Religious Power page D3, for explanation of "power."

Over the years the Anglican Church grew as an indigenous development. Although Euro-Canadian missionaries visited the area none remained for long. People in the area of Round Lake looked upon the church at Big Trout Lake as the headquarters. Every year the church leaders in each band forwarded donations to Big Trout Lake, and sometimes these consisted of as many as two sled loads of furs. In time the people built their own churches in which they conducted services. The remains of one can be seen to this day at Caribou Lake, abandoned in the early 1950's when a church was built at Weagamow Lake after the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Post there.

To this day there is no resident Euro-Canadian Anglican missionary in the Round Lake Area. Instead the church at Weagamow Lake is administered by an Euro-Canadian missionary stationed at Big Beaverhouse. Recent policy, however, has stripped the Round Lake Ojibwa elders of their power to run the church themselves and, in a sense, the Anglican Church as an organization can be said to operate no longer among the Round Lake Ojibwa.

Sometime between 1952 and 1954, the Northern Evangelical Mission established a church at Weagamow Lake. It was organized by an Euro-Canadian couple who did not remain long. Except for occasional visits by other Euro-Canadian Evangelical missionaries the church was run for several years by the Round Lake Ojibwa themselves. Recently another Euro-Canadian couple has arrived to guide its future.

The Government Agent: Government agents were relatively late in entering the area of Round Lake, after the trader and missionary. They have had a powerful influence on the lives of the people and yet they are rarely permanent residents in the area. Individuals from two branches of Government are of importance; personnel of Indian Affairs Branch and of the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests.

Indian Affairs personnel entered the area in the late 1920's at which time they held Treaty with the people in the Round Lake Area and appointed a chief who theoretically was to be in charge of all the people in this area.¹ With the establishment of a Treaty yearly visits were made for the payment of Treaty money and to perform other services. These latter have increased over the years. In 1945 Family Allowance payments were begun. In addition relief was issued where necessary and finally Old Age pensions were distributed. In 1956 a saw-mill was established in the village of Round Lake and a program of house building begun, supervised by Indian Affairs personnel. Roofing, doors, and windows were furnished by the Department and logs were sawed at the mill for building purposes. At about the same time a winter school was established. Contact with Indian Affairs personnel has increased greatly within the past few years and now frequent visits throughout the year are made by members of this Branch.

Department of Lands and Forests personnel have not had as long or as intimate a contact with the people of the Round Lake Area as have those of Indian Affairs. Nevertheless, they have had a considerable influence on the lives of the people. Twenty-five to thirty-five years ago and perhaps more, game wardens occasionally passed through the country looking for violators of game laws. The Ojibwa learned to fear and distrust these individuals and still

1. One informant said that Indian Affairs personnel come through the area before this date. At that time, which was said to have been over forty-five years ago, they did not appoint any chiefs but were said to have had something to do with a Reserve for the people. This is surely a mistake, since no reserve was established until 1930.

talk about them with dread. This attitude has carried over to the present day even though the Department has done everything in its power to allay the suspicions of the people. Recently the Department has established a system of registered traplines for the people of the area, has set game quotas in some instances, and placed a closed season on most fur bearers. Department personnel regularly visit Weagamow Lake each June and usually several other times during the year, but their visits are short, generally lasting not more than a day.

PART II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

INTRODUCTION

This part of the report deals with the social organization of the Round Lake Ojibwa, but before it is possible to discuss social organization and especially to present any demographic data, some type of unit, preferably a social one with boundaries, must be specified. In some respects it is difficult to delimit clear cut maximal groups among the people inhabiting northern Ontario including the Ojibwa of Weagamow Lake. There are no social units today, as there were bands in the past, which can be considered societies in the strict meaning of the word.¹ The Ojibwa of Weagamow Lake have been deprived of the aboriginal social structures which dealt with overall authority and social control. These functional requisites of any society are now dealt with by structures existing in Canadian society. There has been a change in the sphere of economics from a position of independence to one of partial integration in the Canadian money economy. The alterations that have taken place in the religious life of the people constitute a further change. This situation has, of course, resulted from contact with Euro-Canadians during the past fifty years.² Today, therefore, the Ojibwa of Weagamow Lake can no longer be thought of as a society independent of all others and studied as an isolated social unit. The people have become closely linked with Canadian society and form an appendage to it.

Although the above shifts have taken place, the individual Ojibwa is still the centre of a network of social relations which, in the absence of a central political organization, interrelate a number of people over a rather large and indefinite area. Although no two individuals have exactly the same network of relations, there are local groupings of individuals who interact much more frequently with each other than with outsiders, who have or tend to be developing a feeling of unity in opposition to other such units, who exploit a vaguely defined common area, and inhabit the same village for a variable amount of time during the year.

The Round Lake Ojibwa exploit a common area of some 5,000 square miles and occupy a village on Weagamow Lake. Although the wa'wiye'kama' band gathered at Weagamow Lake in the past, the establishment of a trading post by Euro-Canadians here in 1949 formed a centre which attracted other bands to this spot. These included the following: atihkopi'winini, wi'ntiko'winini, mahkopi'winini, and oci'kosa'kahikani'winini. Although they appear to be advancing in that direction, these bands have not yet fused.

Besides the Ojibwa, there are a few Euro-Canadians who also live in the village. They form no functioning social unit. Their ties are with the outside

1. Levy, Marion J.,

1952. The Structure of Society, Princeton University Press, pp. 112 ff.

2. The term Euro-Canadian refers to general West European, Canadian, and American culture and to the people who are indoctrinated in this tradition regardless of their racial background. Canadian society refers to those individuals who are bound by Canadian law and social structure. The Ojibwa of Round Lake are technically members of Canadian society since they are bound by certain aspects of Canadian law and social structure but they are not Euro-Canadians since their traditions, beliefs and attitudes are in general distinct from those of Euro-Canadian culture. Even those Ojibwa with white ancestry cannot be considered Euro-Canadian, although they are racially akin to many Euro-Canadians. Conversely, an individual indoctrinated or socialized in the Euro-Canadian tradition will be considered a Euro-Canadian regardless of his race.

world and in general they do not consider this their home. They form an aggregate of temporary residents brought together through circumstances, with little in common aside from being carriers of Euro-Canadian culture. They depend almost entirely on the outside for their needs, not even utilizing to any extent facilities, such as the store, which are available in the village.

The Ojibwa of Weagamow Lake differ in certain important respects from the Euro-Canadians. Their cultural and social traditions are radically different, as are their language and general racial characteristics; they are not a temporary aggregate but form a permanent and self-reproducing unit through time. Finally, the Ojibwa differ from the Euro-Canadians at Weagamow Lake in their dependence on the various facilities within the village, such as stores, churches, and the school. Only on occasion are they able to bypass these local institutions and deal directly with those outside. The Ojibwa, therefore, who inhabit the village at Weagamow Lake, although no longer forming a society and now dependent on Canadian society, can be taken as a unit of analysis since they can be considered as possessing a boundary at one particular level of generalization.

On the basis of the above discussion several terms can now be defined. The term Round Lake Village will be used to include all persons residing at Weagamow Lake regardless of cultural and racial background. The individuals, on the other hand, who are dependent upon the facilities found within the village for their needs will be spoken of as members of the Round Lake Community. This excludes all carriers of Euro-Canadian culture of whatever racial affinity. It also excludes those individuals who are temporarily absent from the village either in the hospital or at Pickle Lake but not those living in the bush within the area of Weagamow Lake. Since those in the hospital and at Pickle Lake have not severed all ties with the community, they will be included under the term Round Lake Ojibwa.

The word "band" is not used for either the members of the community or the Round Lake Ojibwa for several reasons. In the first place, the Canadian Government has appropriated the word "band" to specify an administrative unit regardless of its members' former allegiance. Secondly, any community may consist of members of several government bands. The community of Round Lake, for instance, is composed of members from the government "bands" of Caribou Lake, Cat Lake, and Trout Lake. The majority belong to the Caribou Lake Band. On the other hand, members of the Caribou Lake Band which is the Weagamow Lake administrative unit are found residing permanently in the communities at Deer Lake, MacDowell Lake, and Cat Lake. Finally, the word "band" in anthropological literature has been used in reference to groups who were relatively if not completely self-sufficient and therefore could be considered societies. Accordingly, the word band is reserved for those maximal social units which inhabited the area some fifty years ago. The Round Lake Ojibwa recognize the distinction between a government "band" and the community, or in the old days the band. The government "band" is referred to as iškonikan. The community of today and the band of the past are referred to as "so and so's" otipe'ncike'win, meaning "that which he is boss of". This term has other important connotations which will be detailed later.

The total territory inhabited by the Round Lake Ojibwa will be referred to as the Round Lake Area, but since the Round Lake Ojibwa are a collection of several former bands which have not yet completely lost their identity there will be occasion to refer to these individually in certain instances. Accordingly, the Round Lake Area is considered as consisting of three sub-areas, each with

its own population. There is the Windigo Lake Sub-Area, the Caribou Lake Sub-Area, and the Weagamow Lake Sub-Area (Map 3). These follow closely the former band territories. The members of any particular sub-area will be referred to as the Windigo Lake People, Caribou Lake People, and Weagamow People. Since these groups tend to occupy particular sections of the village each section will be referred to as a neighbourhood - Windigo Lake Neighbourhood, Caribou Lake Neighbourhood, and Weagamow Neighbourhood. (Map 6).

The social organization of the Round Lake Ojibwa is relatively simple, lacking extensive internal differentiation due in part to the sparse population of the area, historical traditions, economic way of life, and contact with Euro-Canadians. The people have always lacked clans and lineage structures, any complicated political system, and diversification of economic structures. As a result of contact with Euro-Canadians, they have lost the overall authority structure formerly present, and certain religious structures. These now exist external to the community in Canadian society. The Round Lake Ojibwa have not as yet developed any new and radically different structures.

Those structures which exist today, such as the nuclear family, hunting group, nintipe'ncike'win, community, and Evangelical church are composed of roles filled by individuals recruited by means of achievement or ascription. A few roles, such as that of chief, native preacher, and store clerk are allocated on the basis of political, economic or religious considerations and are achievement roles. They are of less importance than roles allocated on the basis of kinship, age, and sex, which are ascribed roles. To understand the social organization of the Round Lake Ojibwa, it is necessary to understand the part played by kinship, sex (i.e. male and female roles), and age (i.e. elder vs. junior roles) in the allocation of roles. The roles so formed constitute, as it were, the blocks with which the structures listed above are built and are considered first in this report. After kinship and the life cycle have been detailed it will be possible to examine the various structural units - nuclear family, hunting group, nintipe'ncike'win, and community. Within the context of these units, achieved roles are discussed.

Although the social organization of the Round Lake Ojibwa can be discussed as a distinct phenomenon, its operation, in part, takes place within the framework of the economic and religious systems. These are discussed in Parts III and IV. The economic and religious systems are not distinct phenomena. Rather their operation is conducted in terms of the existing social organization and cannot be understood fully without a consideration of the social relationships occurring among the Round Lake Ojibwa. One way in which social organization, economics, and religion impinge upon each other, for instance, is through the role of family head. This individual is, at the family level, an authority and a religious figure and is responsible for the economic welfare of the group. In addition, he fills particular kinship roles. The interrelation of social organization, economics, and religion can be seen from another point of view. Feuding between individuals may occur in the context of witchcraft. Interpersonal relations may be curtailed, because of the fear of witchcraft, thereby inhibiting economic co-operation outside the effective range of kinship. The above is not meant to imply that there is any direct cause and effect relationship involved. Rather social organization, economics and religion have reciprocal relationships with a feedback effect. In other words, an action brings about a response which in turn engenders a counter-response.

Finally, the social organization must be thought of as operating within a



MAP 3
SUB-AREAS OF THE ROUND LAKE AREA



▲ THE VILLAGE OF ROUND LAKE

particular natural environment. Through the people's economy and technology, the environment influences to a certain extent their social organization. It sets certain limits within which the social organization must operate, but it does not determine this organization.

POPULATION

The village of Round Lake is located at approximately the centre of the area exploited by the Round Lake Ojibwa. Here the majority of the people gather at particular times during the course of the year. Even when the people are gathered at the village, there are always some individuals away for one reason or another. The location of individuals, therefore, is not stable and any census applies to a very short time period. The following figures are for July, 1958.¹ There were then 210 Ojibwa within the village, fifteen at two fish camps, and four at a permanent home at Magis Lake. In addition, there were twenty-two Ojibwa living at Pickle Lake, most of whom returned to Weagamow Lake for varying lengths of time during the year 1958-59, and there were also five Round Lake Ojibwa in hospital. All but one of these did or will return to the village. Those at Pickle Lake and in hospital are included as part of the Round Lake Ojibwa since their ties with the inhabitants of the village have not been completely broken. Accordingly, a total of 256 individuals comprise the Round Lake Ojibwa (Table 13).

The Euro-Canadians are few in number. The resident population was five in July but rose to seven in February. These were composed of the Hudson's Bay Company manager and family, a school teacher, and an Evangelical missionary and his family. This was augmented during the summer by an Anglican missionary. In addition there were Government officials, missionaries, pilots, free traders, and fish buyers who remained for periods of time varying from one day to several weeks during the course of the year, in all perhaps twenty-five to thirty individuals. Finally prospectors were working in the area to the east of the village. At first they were few in number and their contact with the Ojibwa was slight, but by 1959 their numbers had risen to thirty or more and there was increasing contact with the residents of the area. Although their contact with the resident population is of short duration, all of these transient Euro-Canadians are exceedingly important in their cumulative effect on the Ojibwa.

The population² of the Round Lake Ojibwa has been rapidly increasing since the 1949 census. Though data are inadequate the current picture might lead one to assume that this represents a long term picture. Informants contend, however, that about fifty years ago the population was fully as large as today if not larger. This may well be so, since informants say that within the past twenty-five to thirty-five years what appear to have been epidemics swept through the area. It is quite conceivable that as contact with Euro-Canadians increased so did the incidence of fatal illnesses, thus drastically reducing the size of the former population. In 1949 there were 216 Round Lake Ojibwa. Because of an excess of births over deaths and immigration over emigration the population rose to 256 in 1958. By 1959 it had increased to 268 solely through births. This is a young population, as can be readily seen by the population pyramid (Figure 7), with tremendous growth potential. Probably medical care on the part of the Government more than any other factor is responsible for this situation. A supplementary fact, much more important farther east in the sub-arctic, is today's assured food supply due to Government relief measures.

1. The Caribou Lake Band roll from which many of the census figures are compiled was supplied by the Sioux Lookout Indian Agency, through the kindness of Mr. Gifford Swartman, Superintendent.
2. See Table 13 for a breakdown of the population figures.

Population Figures, Round Lake Ojibwa

JULY 1958

1949-1958

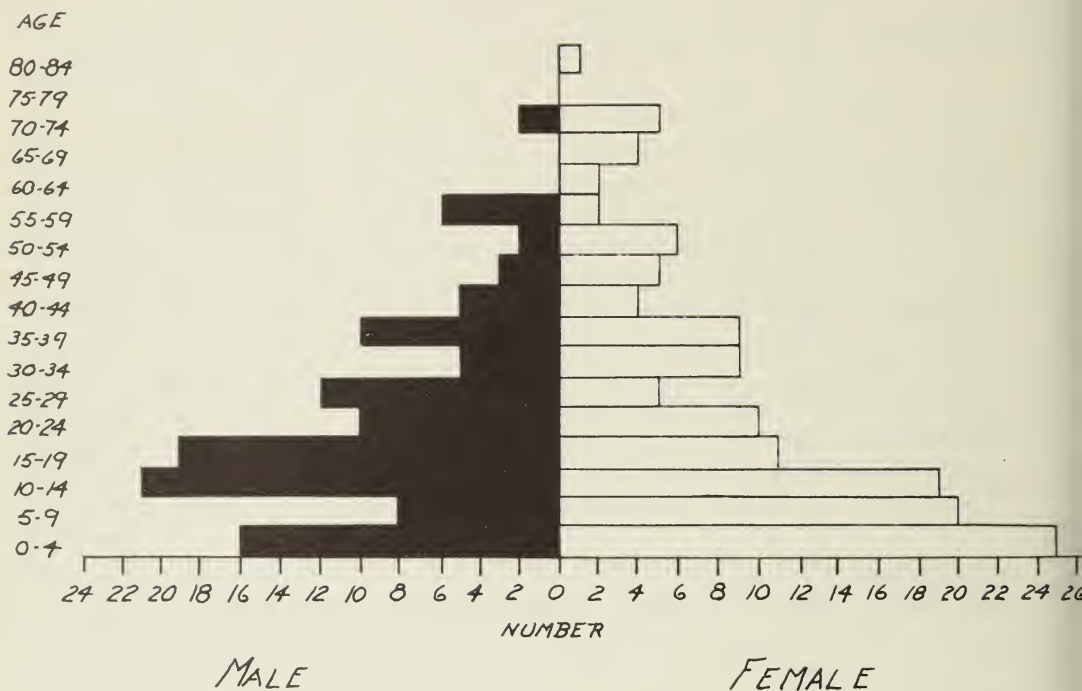
Ages in Years	Round Lake Community		Pickle Lake		Hospital		R.L.Ojibwa (by sex)		R.L.Ojibwa (totals)		Married		Widowed		Unmarried		Immigrants		Emmigrants		Deaths		Births			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
80-84	1						1	1	1	1																
75-79																										
70-74	2	5					2	5	7	7	2	1		4					2				2			2
65-69		4						4	4	4				4					1				1			1
60-64		1				1		2	2	2				2												
55-59	5	2			1		6	2	8	5	5	1		1			1		1							1
50-54	2	6					2	6	8	1	5	1		1						2						
45-49	3	4		1			3	5	8	3	3	3		2												
40-44	5	3		1			5	4	9	5	3	3		1			1		1							1
35-39	9	9					10	9	19	9	8	1		1			1		1							1
30-34	3	8		1			5	9	14	5	7	1		1			1		1							1
25-29	10	5				1	12	5	17	9	4	1		1			2		2		2		2			1
20-24	6	9		2		2	10	10	20	2	8	1		1			8		1		1		1			1
15-19	17	10		2			19	11	30	1	1				19	10	2		2		1		3			3
10-14	19	16		3			21	19	40	40					21	19	8		5		2		2			1
5-09	8	17		3			8	20	28	28					8	20	16									1
0-04	15	25		1			16	25	41	41					16	25	13									48

Totals

by Sex 104 125 11 11 4 1 119 137 256 41 41 4 18 74 78 6 14 5 4 24 24 31 48

Totals (229) (22) (5) (256) (82) (22) (152) (20) (9) (48) (79)

\$ There were 13 births during the period of fieldwork, July 1958 to July 1959. Source: In part from the Caribou Lake Band Roll, courtesy of the Sioux Lookout Indian Agency.



SOURCE: CARIBOU LAKE BAND ROLL, COURTESY SIOUX
LOOKOUT INDIAN AGENCY

FIG 7- AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF
THE ROUND LAKE OJIBWA, JULY 1958

KINSHIP

Introduction:

The Round Lake Ojibwa possess a bilateral kinship system with bifurcate collateral uncle-aunt terminology and Iroquois cousin terminology (Fig. 8). Kinship is extended to include second cousins. Third cousins are not considered kin.¹ The system links together both sides of a family equally, including matrilineal and patrilineal relatives. The marriage bond is crucial since the composition of an individual's constellation of relatives is determined by the marriage of his parents. His son's constellation of relatives will be different. Such a constellation will not operate as a unit since it is recognized as a unit only from a particular individual's point of view. Other members of Ego's constellation will have their own different constellations of relatives. Although an individual's bilateral family does not operate as a corporate unit, an individual can depend on his bilateral relatives for support. Under the harsh conditions of the sub-arctic where the population has until recently remained small and subject to a high mortality rate, it can be seen that an individual is more likely to have living kinsmen and therefore more assurance of support under a bilateral system than would be the case under a unilateral system, with as shallow a time depth as the Round Lake Ojibwa system exhibits, where his demands would be restricted to relatives of only one of his parents. Although the above is true, there is a tendency on the part of the Round Lake Ojibwa to emphasize the patrilineal side. It takes precedence where possible over the matrilineal side.

The uncle-aunt and cousin terminology is logically consistent with the operation of the sororate, levirate, and cross-cousin marriage. Under the given extension of kinship, the sororate and cross-cousin marriage increase the number of potential spouses, a vital consideration in a small population.

The uncle-aunt and cousin terminologies separate most patrilineal and matrilineal kin equally into one of two groups: consanguinal or affinal.² This applies to Ego's generation, the first ascending generation and first descending generation. Individuals in the next generation above and below these are all consanguinal relatives of Ego. The three central generations are the important ones from Ego's point of view. Ideally, his parents-in-law will be in the first ascending generation; his spouse will be in his own generation, and he must find spouses for his children in the first descending generation. The kinship terminology is consistent, dividing these generations equally into consanguinal and affinal relatives.

Although seven generations of relatives (from great grandparents to great grandchildren) are named, the effective and practical time span is three generations, correlating with the rather short life expectancy of the individual. Three generations in either direction including Ego's generation is the maximum range within which authority functions. A man is not subject to the control of his great grandfather nor does he have any control over his great grandson.

1. This is in contrast to Bearskin, Big Beaverhouse, and Big Trout Lake where kinship is extended to third cousins, with the exception of the people along the Fawn River.
2. The terms consanguinal and affinal are employed from the point of view of the Round Lake Ojibwa, not of a Euro-Canadian. For example, father's sister is an affinal since she is called mother-in-law by the Round Lake Ojibwa although Euro-Canadians would consider her a consanguinal relative.

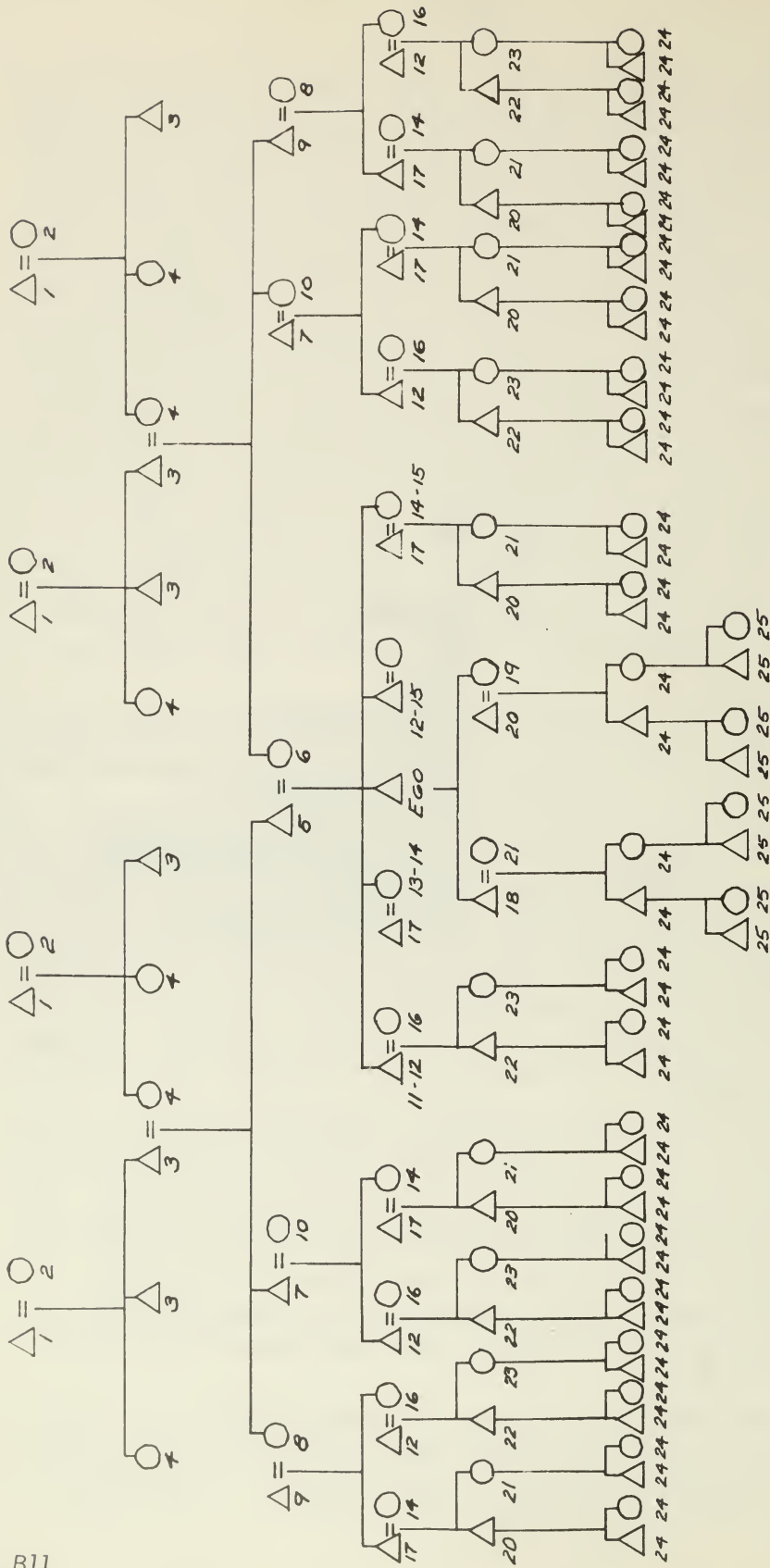


FIG. 8- KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY FOR MALE EGO
 ROUND LAKE OJIBWA, 1958-1959

1.	<u>ninkihcinimiššo`m</u>	great grandfather
2.	<u>ninkihcino`hkom</u>	great grandmother
3.	<u>nimiššo`m</u>	grandfather
4.	<u>no`hkom</u>	grandmother
5.	<u>no`ss, ninta`ta` ninte`te` , nimpa`pa`</u>	father
6.	<u>ninka, ninka`wi` ninto`to` , nima`ma`</u>	mother
7.	<u>nimiššo`me`nš</u>	father's br other and mother's sister's husband
8.	<u>nisikoss</u>	father's sister and mother's brother's wife
9.	<u>niššišše`ns</u>	mother's brother and father's sister's husband
10.	<u>ninto`siss</u>	mother's sister and father's brother's wife
11.	<u>nisse`ns</u>	older brother
12.	<u>ni`cihki`we`si</u>	brother
13.	<u>nimisse`ns</u>	older sister
14.	<u>nintawe`ma`</u>	sister
15.	<u>nišši`me`ns</u>	younger sibling
16.	<u>ni`nim, ni`cimoss</u>	female cross-cousin and sister-in-law
17.	<u>ni`hta`wiss</u>	male cross-cousin and brother-in-law
18.	<u>ninkosiss</u>	son
19.	<u>ninta`niss</u>	daughter
20.	<u>nininkwan</u>	son-in-law and sister's son
21.	<u>ninaha`ka`nihkwe`m</u>	daughter-in-law and sister's daughter
22.	<u>ninto`šim</u>	brother's son
23.	<u>ninto`šimihkwe`m</u>	brother's daughter
24.	<u>no`siss</u>	grandchild
25.	<u>ninta`nihkonta`pa`n</u>	great grandchild

1. The kin terms are given in first person singular possessive.

The relationship between individuals within and between generations tends to be standardized. Within Ego's generation superior-inferior statuses tend to be minimal and de-emphasized. Relationships are characterized by equality, solidarity, mutual aid, and equivalence. Generally speaking, siblings and siblings-in-law are treated in the same way. The solidarity of siblings and siblings-in-law gives cohesion to group life under a bilateral system and functions to bind the community together. This contrasts with the relations between adjacent generations. Here a superior-inferior relationship exists with its attendant stresses and strains, opposition and hostility. Practically all recorded cases of open conflict within a group (community or band) occurred between members of adjacent generations. On the other hand, the situation is balanced by the presence of intense feelings of devotion and reciprocity without which there would be such a sharp cleavage between adjacent generations that community organization of any kind would be impossible. The relations between members of alternate generations are much more diffuse than between adjacent generations and are characterized by devotion and respect.

The kinship system of the Round Lake Ojibwa has begun to undergo certain minor changes. As yet, kin terms have not been altered, except for the adoption of new terms for "mother" and "father" borrowed from Euro-Canadians, to conform with new social patterns. There has, nevertheless, been a contraction in the effective range of kinship. Individuals who in the past were considered distant kin may not be so termed today. The changes that are occurring emanate from the younger members of the community. They are confused as to proper relationships, marry forbidden kin, much to the horror of the older generation, and in general tend to disregard distant kinsmen. Part of the confusion may be due to youthful ignorance but part certainly indicates a changing situation. What follows is based primarily on information derived from middle-aged informants.

Kin Relationships:

Grandfather (nimiššo'miss or nimisso'm) Grandmother (no'hkom) – Grandchild (no'siss): While the relationship between members of adjacent generations tends to be reserved, formal and frequently fraught with hostility either implicit or explicit, the relationship between alternate generations tends to be more relaxed and easy-going with little or no friction. It is comparable in many ways to the relationship between members of the same generation. The terms for grandparents are employed for all relatives in the second ascending generation including father's father's first parallel cousins. However, no cases of inclusion of father's father's cross-cousins were recorded. All children in second descending generation are known as grandchildren as far as son's and daughter's children's first cousins.¹

Between a grandparent and grandchild there is a strong bond of affection and a continual interest in the welfare of each other. This is especially true of the grandparent. It is shown in the kind behavior and indulgence a grandparent bestows on a young grandchild. When a baby is born both grandmothers attend the birth if possible and grandfathers immediately afterwards. Thereafter they make frequent visits. An informant recounted how good his grandfather and family were to him, giving him food and clothing and washing his clothes for him. This man's grandfather was perpetually complaining about trespass on his land. The young man said he had heard this talk for months and was tired of it, but

1. It is suspected that this extension to collateral lines is more typical of Bearskin than the Round Lake Ojibwa. In this as in many other aspects of the culture more work is needed.

only on one occasion when interpreting the troubles for his grandfather did he show definite signs of exasperation. In tone if not in word he lashed out at his grandfather. This was the only such case witnessed. Grandchildren look to their grandparents for aid and comfort. A man assailed by the *wi'ntiko'* asked for his grandmother or other elders saying they could help him when others couldn't. He said he would be willing to listen to his grandmother's words.

Grandchildren reciprocate. One informant told how he would wait near the camp for his grandfather to return from tending his hare snares. This same man recounted with feeling his concern and interest in his grandfather when on one occasion the latter returned to camp having burned his rabbitskin parka and nearly frozen to death.

It is expected that if the parents of young children die the grandparents will assume the care of them. As one informant stated, a grandmother will take care of the grandchildren because they like their grandmother. In this connection it is of interest that one informant said that when he first became aware of his grandmother he called her "mother" although his own mother was alive and caring for him. The close identification of the two women on the part of a grandchild is clearly evident.

Even though the grandchildren's parents are still alive grandparents care for, teach, and aid their grandchildren. Sometimes when a mother is ill or busy she will leave one of her children with a grandparent for varying lengths of time or, if the mother must go away, a grandmother will care for the grandchildren. At other times they are sent to visit their grandparents. Whatever the occasion may be, one can see a grandfather good naturedly rushing about mopping up the floor and changing the overalls when a grandchild has a toilet accident, or a grandmother wiping a grandchild's nose and then sending him back to play. A grandmother makes mittens, moccasins, or moose hide jackets for her grandchildren. The grandfather gives his grandson shells to use in hunting. Another important function of the grandparents is in educating their grandchildren. Both grandparents frequently advise grandchildren. A grandmother teaches her grandson many things. She constantly talks to him, giving advice such as to make sure to be careful when traveling. A grandmother takes her young grandson with her and shows him how to set hare snares properly. She also instructs her young granddaughter. A grandfather takes his grandson hunting when old enough and shows him the fine points of tracking moose and the proper way in which to shoot caribou. In addition, he shows him how to set fish nets.

As grandparents-grandchildren grow older the relationship alters in one important aspect. Grandchildren now contribute aid to their grandparents. A grandson gives clothes, wood, "anything" to his grandmother, and always looks after her. He does the same for his grandfather. A granddaughter aids her grandmother, for instance splitting firewood for her. A grandchild gives food delicacies such as moose lips and nose to his grandfather in addition to making sure that he is supplied with meat. Giving gifts to one's grandparents is instilled early in the life of the child. A father instructs his son when, for instance, he has caught fish, to give them to his grandfather. The same is done with other forms of small game. In time, a boy automatically takes small birds and similar game that he kills about camp to his grandmother. If a grandparent is disabled in any way, a grandchild may be instructed to care for him or her. One man told how he used to drag his grandfather on a toboggan out on the lake in winter where he could jig for fish. Another boy used to lead his blind grandfather around. Two granddaughters of an old woman of the village always accompany

her to the store and carry her groceries home for her. In another case a granddaughter sleeps with her grandmother and cares for her needs in case of illness.

There is a mild form of joking between grandparent and grandchild under certain conditions. A person may joke with his grandmother but only when she is very old. Then he can joke with her about marrying again. A grandfather may play practical jokes on his grandson. A case was recorded of a grandfather having one of his sons place a fish in his grandson's deadfall. The boy was bewildered when he discovered the fish but no one told him until years later what had been done. Extreme joking, however, is frowned upon especially on the part of grandchildren.

A grandfather is respected as an elder and acts as titular head of the family (nintipe^oncike^owin). He has limited jural authority over his grandchildren except when their parents are dead. If a person's father is living his grandfather generally makes requests of his grandson through the boy's father. Similarly, a grandmother cannot order her grandson to do something.

Under a bilateral kinship system conflict might ensue if grandfathers had jural rights over their grandsons, since a youth would then be called upon to obey both grandfathers. This at times could be difficult or impossible. Instead the youth's father is given jural rights over his son and is the legitimate authority figure. Although the kinship system is bilateral, if both sets of grandparents are living the grandchildren are more frequently associated with the patrilateral side. If father's father and father's mother are not living a youth will associate with, behave in the same way toward, and perform the same services for his mother's father and mother's mother.

Father (no^oss,¹ ninta^ota^o, ninte^ote^o, nimpa^opa^o)— Son (ninkosiss): The terms employed for father are applied only to biological father and no other males. The same is true for son. There is no confusion in this matter on the part of the Round Lake Ojibwa, nor is there any concept of sociological father.. Even in cases where one's own father is dead and a male relative takes the place of the biological father and the individual treats him like father, he is always spoken of by the proper kin term or in occasional cases as "like a father", but never by the term reserved for father.

The relationship between a father and his son is a constantly evolving one and can be understood only in these terms. There is the period of childhood when a son is dependent upon his father, adolescence when the son associates much more with his father and is trained by him in economic pursuits and social conventions, and adulthood when the son is responsible for the welfare of his father.

Male issue are greatly desired. Although no magical means were reported for predetermining the sex of offspring, one informant confided that some people believe the position of coitus could determine the sex of offspring. One of man's greatest joys in life is the birth of a son and his greatest sorrow the death of a son. A son is admired and one informant said of his young son that he was "strong and smart" while his daughters were "weak and dumb." This same informant built a fence to keep his young son from wandering away and coming to harm. He had not thought this necessary in the case of his five previous daughters. Dreams dealing with one's offspring tend to concern sons rather than

1. no^oss is the term for father formerly used. It is rarely if ever used today. The other three terms for father are merely Ojibwa variants of borrowed Euro-Canadian forms.

daughters and warn of dangers facing a man's son. In one case, a man's dream revealed that the "power"¹ of his father-in-law threatened his new born son. Later this same man was warned through a dream that if his son was not baptised he would soon die. In both cases the father was greatly concerned for the welfare of his son and immediately took steps to remedy the situation.

Ideally, a father has complete authority over his son. This is tempered by deep devotion, and a father does everything possible to aid his son. No cases were reported of a father killing or attempting to kill his son and informants denied that it could happen. One unusual case was said to have occurred at Sachigo a few years ago in which a boy became a wi'ntiko and his father thought he should be killed, but neither the father nor any other member of the community, were willing to undertake the task. A son is expected to honour and obey his father. Informants insisted a son would never kill his father. Rather if there were trouble the son would merely move away.

During infancy and childhood a father is concerned for the welfare and education of his son although he does not have as close an association as the mother does. A father provides for the material needs of his son. One father recounted how he had once caught an otter but the animal had made away with the trap. He searched and searched but to no avail. Finally, he sat down. All he could think of, he said, was how sad he was since he desperately wanted the otter pelt with which to buy things for his children.

Boys are indulged by their fathers to a much greater degree than are daughters, but there is no unbridled license. A young son may scatter his father's cigarette papers to the winds while his father good-naturedly and laughingly rushes about to gather them up. A father is constantly training and occasionally disciplining his son. A young son is encouraged by verbal commands to conform. Corporal punishment was never seen inflicted and yet informants stated that if necessary it would be administered. In general a father has more control over his son than does the mother. Where a mother can do nothing to stop the antics of her son, a word from the father is sufficient. The son immediately stops misbehaving, although not indefinitely.

As a boy approaches adolescence he spends a great deal more time with his father. Now for the first time a boy is capable of actively participating in economic pursuits. Accordingly a father now has more opportunity to teach and train his son for full participation in adult life. Informants stressed how much they owed their fathers for this training and how it had made them successful adults. The death of a father is considered a great hardship for an adolescent or younger son. Although an adult male kinsman will replace the father, he is not considered an exact equivalent. It is thought that a boy who loses his father is unlikely to become a prosperous adult. Cases to the contrary are spoken of as almost miraculous.

By the time a boy reaches adolescence he is, ideally, under the complete domination of the father. The father is the recognized leader who makes all decisions which his son must obey. In addition a son is expected to turn over to the father all game secured for food² which the father then distributes. One 18 year old boy paid part of his father's debt at the store after the father was

1. See Religion for explanation of the concept "power" and the importance of dreams in the culture.
2. There is a distinction between resources secured from the land and used directly and those sold for money. Country game should be shared freely but not money. See Economics, page C68.

injured and could no longer trap. Yet it is no one sided arrangement. There is a high degree of reciprocity in the relation of a father and son. A son should aid the father in case of necessity in the way of clothing and money: the father sees to it that his son is housed, clothed and fed, and defends his son if he is threatened by someone outside the family. A boy who had been taken home by the chief because he was drinking was defended by his father, who criticized the chief for his action. It is in such situations where father and son are in opposition to the community at large that their solidarity is expressed most strongly. This pattern of reciprocity has diminished somewhat today, now that the Round Lake Ojibwa are integrated in a money economy. The son reserves the money received from trapping and/or commercial fishing for himself and is in large measure independent of the father's generosity.

With the advent of adulthood and marriage a man tends to break away from his father, set up an independent household of his own, and carry out economic pursuits with a younger partner since his father is quite often too old to engage actively in these activities. Ideally, the relationship between the father and his adult son remains the same as previously. The father is looked upon as the legitimate authority figure and respected as such. He still aids his son wherever possible and makes items of material culture for him. The making of snowshoes is important in this respect. Under the system of old age pensions the father may aid his son financially. Conversely a son is expected to care for his father and see to it that all his needs are supplied. In the case of an elderly man who was crippled, his son carried him wherever he had to go. When a fatherless boy marries, he is likely to join his father-in-law, who takes the place of his father. One man said he went with his father-in-law because he had no father, and that his father-in-law was just like a father to him.

Although the relation between father and son can be conceived of as a constantly evolving one, and one in which reciprocity is fundamental, it is, nevertheless, one in which, the father has jural rights over his son, especially before he marries. One man desiring the services of another should approach the latter's father first and make his request known to him. In one case a man wished to have his brother-in-law as a hunting partner. He went to his brother-in-law's father and requested that he allow his son (aged 16) to accompany him. In another case an old man requested his son to allow the latter's son to hunt moose for him. In both cases the requests were granted and the young men did as their fathers decided. The father, in consultation with his wife, makes the necessary arrangements for the marriage of their son, and finally the father constantly acts in an advisory capacity to his son. No instances were recorded of joking between father and son.

There are several factors, and probably more which were not detected, which sanction a father's position. Before a son's marriage, and to a certain extent afterwards, there are economic sanctions which a father might bring to bear. Another factor, which was extremely important in the past and still appears to exist to a limited extent, is the religious power of the father. He does not bring this to bear directly on his son to produce conformity, but rather protects him and his family from harm directed against them by the leaders of other family groups. Another factor involved here is inherent in the socialization process. A son is taught from infancy to respect his father and elders in general for their knowledge and abilities. This in and of itself would tend to check any deviant behavior on the part of a son. Finally, a powerful sanction appears to lie in another direction. A son who disobeys his father will be inflicted with trouble. In the past this concept may have played a more important role, but the belief

is still present and widespread within the group. It applies as well to other relationships. Cases are pointed out in which an individual did not listen to the advice of a superior and later the entire family became involved in troubles. The family members separated; they suffered deaths and illnesses. An instructive case which occurred at Bearskin happened to a close relative of an informant. The individual in question had been repeatedly instructed by his father before his death not to work on Sundays. One Sunday the man went to examine some traps against the warnings of his mother. A few days later the man was taken quite ill, and his mother told him this was the result of not having obeyed his father's instructions.

The above statements portray the ideal situation. While a majority of sons, especially those under twenty, outwardly conform to the pattern, there are some who openly do not. A boy of fourteen was reported to have struck his father in anger and given him a black eye. All except one of the sons of another man left him because, it was said, their father had a short temper and they could not work with him. Another boy defied his father and married without the latter's consent or knowledge. These particular cases appear to be overt expressions of a latent hostility of a son for the father which perhaps always existed. Today, with economic independence in the hands of a young man, with belief in the aboriginal religion weakening, and with the opportunity to leave the community to work elsewhere, the young men are beginning to break the old pattern. It is rare now for a man over twenty to join with his father in any economic enterprises. They associate with others and have their own independent households.

Father (no'ss, ninta'ta', ninte'te', nimpa'pa') — Daughter (ninta'niss):
The kin terms employed for father have been discussed above. The term for daughter is applied only to one's own biological daughter. The relationship between father and daughter parallels in some ways that between father and son except that it is less intense. A father and daughter have less intimate contacts, less interaction when they are together, and at marriage a daughter leaves her family for that of her husband. A woman looks more to her mother and sisters in everyday affairs than she does to her father.

In much the same way as the relationship of father and son changes in the course of time, so does that of father and daughter. As a youngster, a daughter tends to be indulged in a similar manner to a son. The father cares for her, buys her candy, and she follows him about on various tasks carried out near the home. A major difference between the treatment of a son and a daughter is that girls are assigned economic tasks at a much younger age than boys. Girls twelve years of age and slightly younger are expected to perform various tasks such as sawing and splitting firewood, and drawing water, whereas their brothers are still free to do as they please.¹ If a girl has no older brother she may accompany her father hunting and trapping. A girl's mother generally delegates the necessary tasks to her but the ultimate authority rests with the girl's father.

The father sees that his daughters are provided for, and advises and lectures them. One informant claimed that on frequent occasions he would spend an evening lecturing his daughters on proper conduct. This informant constantly supervised the behavior of his daughters as did many other fathers. He forbade his daughters to smoke and went to great lengths to see that they did not: never-

1. This, of course, conforms to the division of labor on the basis of sex, which begins at an early age. It is improper, in general, for males to do tasks reserved for females. This is not to say that men never perform woman's work.

theless, it was to no avail. He attempted to prevent them from having nightly associations with the boys of the village: again he was unsuccessful. Yet, from his point of view and that of the fathers of girls, it is the boys who are to blame rather than the girls.

As a daughter grows older her father has less and less direct contact with her. She shares tasks with her mother and sisters under the supervision of her female elders. Nevertheless, her father is still in control and in consultation with his wife arranges her marriage. She has little to say concerning this matter. Once a girl is married she is, ideally, no longer under the control of her father but is rather, a member of her husband's family and under the direction of her father-in-law. Despite this a father still retains an interest in his daughter's welfare. One case was told of how a man just before he died instructed his son-in-law to take proper care of his daughter (i.e. son-in-law's wife). In another case a father on notification that his daughter was about to have a baby hurried off to see her. Finally, if a woman's husband dies while she is still young, she should return to her father, and is then again under his supervision.

A daughter, like a son, is an inferior in the eyes of the father. In addition to the age differential and kin relationship, she merits this position because of her sex. As mentioned previously, boys are considered "smart and strong", girls, "dumb and weak." The same sanctions for the father's position appear to operate in the case of daughters as with sons.

A daughter treats her father with respect and obeys, or outwardly gives the appearance of obeying, his wishes and commands. Girls are inclined toward docility and no cases were recorded of open defiance on the part of a daughter. She performs various tasks as an aid to her father. She makes beaded decorations for him, cooks, sews his moccasins and mittens, and performs other services.

Mother (ninka'wi', ninka, ninto'to', nima'ma¹) - Son (ninkosiss): The terms for mother are reserved for biological mother as is her term for son. The relationship between mother and son is, like that between father and son, one which evolves with time. Women desire to have sons as greatly as do men. It is a relationship which ideally is characterized by strong mutual devotion and a woman's whole life is bound up with that of her sons. One woman whose son hanged himself openly wept and kept the occupants of her home awake all night because of her sorrow. The relationship does not have any of the features of the father-son relationship which might provoke strong feelings of hostility.

A mother before her son's marriage cares for him in many ways - cooking his meals, making clothing, and in general maintaining a place where he can live. During the initial years of his life he is totally dependent upon his mother and almost constantly with her. As has been stated, this alters with time and a boy gradually spends more and more time with his father. Yet it is his mother (and sisters) who care for many of his needs. At marriage the situation does not change greatly. Their homes are likely to be near each other and a mother continues to watch over her son. She makes beaded moccasins and mittens for him and in case her daughter-in-law is sick she cares for the children. If there is trouble between a man and his wife, his mother will side with him against her daughter-in-law.

A son has great respect for his mother and is devoted to her. They never joke with each other. An adult son is expected to care for his mother especially

1. The term nima'ma is a borrowing from Euro-Canadians. The other terms for mother are native.

if his father is dead. In the village of Round Lake there are nine widows who have adult married sons living, and one widow with an adult unmarried son. In five cases, the mother lives with one of her sons (one of these is actually a stepson) and in three cases the woman's son lives nearby. In the case of the unmarried son, his mother, who lost her voice at the time of her husband's death, is cared for by another woman appointed by the Government. A son does many things for his mother - gives her meat, drags her on a toboggan to the store, sets fish nets for her, brings her groceries home from the store, builds and repairs her house, and performs other similar tasks.

The idea of trouble between a mother and her son is not foreign to the Round Lake Ojibwa, but is of rare occurrence. Only one case was recorded. In this instance a woman disapproved of her son's marriage and attempted to prevent its occurrence. When this failed she took her canoe away from her son who had depended upon it for commercial fishing. Informants stated that if a mother becomes angry and causes trouble, it is a son's duty to ignore the situation and continue to care for his mother. In some cases, which are not approved of, a son will leave home for a few days until his mother has forgotten her anger. Informants claim they have never heard of any case where a mother killed her son or vice versa. Sexual relations between a mother and her son are thought to be improper but one case is said to have occurred to the north of Weagamow Lake. The validity of this statement could not be checked.

Mother (ninka'wi' ninka, ninto'to', nima'ma') - Daughter (ninta'niss):

The term for daughter is applied only to biological daughter. Documentation regarding the relationship between mother and daughter is unfortunately not extensive. The relationship is somewhat comparable to that between a father and daughter in that the mother has authority over her daughter. A daughter is also inferior to a son in the eyes of a mother.

A mother is in direct control of her unmarried daughters. When they are old enough she assigns them work such as hauling water, sawing and splitting firewood, cooking meals, and dressing game. As they mature they are expected to do more and more of the household work. In many tasks the mother co-operates and, at the same time, instructs her daughter. Although a daughter does many chores for her mother, and this is especially true if the latter is elderly or in poor health, a mother aids her daughter in many ways. As an infant, the daughter is, of course, entirely dependent upon her mother for the necessities of life. As a girl matures, she still continues to receive help. At marriage, although the daughter leaves the household of her mother and often the immediate area of her mother's home, mother and daughter continue to aid one another. A mother may tend fish nets for a daughter who is in poor health. If a daughter has a great deal of work to do she may leave her youngest children in the care of her mother for an afternoon. A mother is a constant visitor to her daughter when the latter has given birth to a new child, and a married daughter, if ill, may return to her mother who then cares for her and the children while the daughter's husband goes off for the winter trapping.

The relationship between a mother and daughter appears to be a warm one. Only one case was observed in which a mother and her daughter were overheard in an argument. Informants never mentioned any cases of troubles between a mother and her daughter. The fact that a daughter leaves her mother at marriage may tend to temper the relationship and prevent open hostility. A mother knows her daughter will leave eventually and need not associate with her any more. Furthermore, a mother does not have ultimate authority over her daughter: this

rests in the hands of the girl's father or father-in-law, depending on her marital status.

Brother (ni'cihki'we'si) – Brother (ni'cihki'we'si): Older Brother (nisse'-ns) – Younger Sibling (nišši'me'ns): The term ni'cihki'we'si is applied to men who have the same mother and father, half-brother, step-brother, to first and second male parallel-cousins, and theoretically to husbands of wife's sisters. In practice, husbands of wife's sisters are variously referred to as ni'cihki'we'si, ni'hta'wiss or ninto'tem, a general term for relatives of wife. One informant made the generalization that in the area of Bearskin, Big Trout Lake, and Big Beaverhouse third male parallel-cousins are considered ni'cihki'we'si while in the Round Lake community the term is extended no farther than second male parallel-cousin. This is confirmed by geneological data.

The relationship with either own or terminological brother is a complex one which varies with the ages of the brothers, their marital status, the relations they have with their father, and the degree of consanguinity. Basically there is a strong solidary bond between brothers. Informants declare that brothers "love" each other and never fight. No cases of brothers fighting could be recalled. There is no question that brothers under usual conditions are devoted to one another. During the winter of 1959 when a man hanged himself¹, his brother was visibly disturbed. For a few days after the death he wandered about rarely speaking and with a somewhat vacant stare on his face. At times he appeared on the verge of crying. He could not discuss the death, and it was said that only after his grief lessened would he tell the people what happened. In another case, a trapper did not return when expected from his trapline. A brother showed considerable concern for his absence discussing what might have delayed him. In stories and myths brothers are portrayed as being close to one another. In one story two married brothers lived apart. One was so lonesome for the other that he visited his brother through magical means. In another case a boy who neglected the care of his father was visited by his deceased brother. The latter informed his younger brother that if he did not care for their father he would never visit him again. The boy mended his ways immediately and took care of his father from that time on.

Brothers aid and co-operate with each other in various tasks. They sometimes give each other presents, or if one is lacking something, even money, his brother provides him with the necessary item. Brothers trapping together may pool their traps in a form of communal ownership. Although brothers freely borrow each other's possessions even after marriage, it is first necessary to ask a brother's permission. There is no rent charged if the borrowed item is to be used for non-monetary purposes, but if it is to be used for monetary purpose, such as a canoe for commercial fishing, then payment is expected. Under certain conditions a man is free to take from his brother when the latter is present. In one case an unmarried full brother helped himself to candy that his married brother had just bought. Others, some of whom were terminological brothers, watched but none made a move to help himself to the remaining candy. A brother will care for one or more children of a brother whose wife has died and is expected to raise a brother's children if both parents are dead. It is stated that if one brother is "bad", a "good" brother must care for his children. Brothers, besides borrowing each other's possessions, exchange goods, sometimes freely, sometimes by barter, and sometimes for money.

An elder brother holds a position of authority and responsibility in respect

1. This man had emigrated to the Cat Lake Community.

to his younger siblings. This is reflected in the kinship terminology. A younger brother, whether married or not, should consult his elder brother before undertaking any task or going away. An older brother at the death of his parents is expected to care for his younger siblings. If the elder brother is married his wife does the cooking, mending, sewing and laundry for her unmarried brothers-in-law. In joint undertakings by adult brothers, the eldest is generally considered the leader but only when their father is absent or deceased. Marital status of the brother makes little difference. It is said that an unmarried elder brother directs the actions of his younger married brother. In a case observed, an elder brother although married only a few months made all the arrangements for the trip to their traplines while his younger brother, married for a number of years stood in the background. In the case of illness of a surviving parent, the eldest brother in consultation with his other brothers undertakes the proper care. In one case when a man's mother suddenly became seriously ill, he instantly notified his younger brother who was living near by. The younger brother came immediately, and they discussed what was to be done, the elder brother acting as leader and undertaking the necessary measures. In a second case, a man's wife was threatened with rape. The man immediately consulted his younger brother and they discussed what action should be taken.¹ In another case, a woman whose husband was working away from the village of Round Lake was accused of philandering, and it was suggested she should be made to join him. Her husband's brother immediately rose to her defense saying that his brother had placed her in his charge and that only he had the right to undertake any action.

An interesting aspect of the brother relationship is the element of joking involved². This is reciprocal and does not depend on the age of the men. Joking is of two types; that indulged in by brothers regardless of the degree of relationship and that conducted only by male parallel-cousins. The first type is a form of practical joking. When two brothers are duck hunting the stern man may tip the canoe at the moment his brother in the bow shoots, making him miss his mark. Or if one brother stands up in the canoe the other may try to make him lose his balance and fall into the water. A man may hide his brother's knife when he is eating, or he may give away his brother's things in jest. The second and more frequent type of joking is of sexual nature and is engaged in only by terminological brothers (first and second parallel-cousins). Allusions are made to one's terminological brother having slept with some woman, or they may joke about particular illnesses such as uncine, which occasionally involves sex organs or improper sexual relations.

The above statements suggest that brothers have amicable relations with each other and certainly this is the ideal for which men strive. Yet there is reason to believe that brothers do on occasion have trouble: jealousies arise and the relation may not be a smoothly functioning one. Informants stated, although without enumerating any cases, that brothers will have trouble if a younger brother tries to be leader or if they use each other's things without prior permission. Latent hostility between brothers appears to be a component of the

1. In this case the younger brother independently had words with the offender.
2. This joking relationship is not to be confused with that reported in the literature for other Ojibwa. No information was collected to suggest that X cousin joking is practiced by the Round Lake Ojibwa, although its absence would be surprising.

relationship but is not as intense as in the father-son relationship. An observed case of two half-brothers is illustrative. These men had the same father. The younger attempted to take over control of family affairs. The elder, a meek man, allowed him to do so, and now goes about his own affairs and has little to do with his younger brother. They rarely or never undertake any joint enterprise. The elder's lack of interest in his younger half-brother is also suggested by the fact that when the latter's wife had a baby the elder half-brother did not know its sex for several days after the birth, when this knowledge appeared to be common property of the village members. The elder brother continually stated that his younger half-brother was not part of his family (nintipe'ncike'sin) as normally would be the case. The younger half-brother stated that he was the head of the family which included his younger full brother and that for certain purposes his elder half-brother would be included.

Another piece of evidence suggest latent hostility between brothers. Not many years ago a young man had a dream in which his brother died, and he obtained his brother's shirt. Shortly thereafter the dreamer's brother did die. This man felt he may have been responsible for his brother's death and was upset about the situation. The implication is that he unconsciously had wanted to harm his brother.

That the relation between brothers is strained appears in another context. Brothers rarely operate together as an economic unit either in hunting, trapping, commercial fishing, or any other endeavour. Of thirteen sets of brothers over 16 composed of both married and unmarried men, only five sets operate together at least some of the time (Table 14). It is the younger sets of brothers who co-operate, never older ones (Table 15). The two eldest sets of brothers have separated and are now living in different communities rarely seeing one another.

TABLE 14
Sets of Brothers by Size and Association,
Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

	Number of Brothers in a Set		
	2	3	4
Number of Sets	8	3	2
Together at Least Some of the Time	3	2	0

TABLE 15
Sets of Brothers by Age and Association,
Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Age of Brothers	Together	Separated
35-60	0	4
16-34	5	4

Trouble arising between brothers is not the sole explanation for their separation, although such difficulties may contribute to the split. Economic considerations must be taken into account. In families with many sons, pressure on natural resources stimulates the dispersal of brothers. Two informants stated that this was why they had left their brothers. On the other hand, there are

cases in which brothers, although they no longer hunt together nor occupy the same winter camp, nevertheless exploit different parts of the same trapping territory. Another factor in operation bringing about the separation of brothers is their relations with their father. If a father is considered too domineering or if he is dead, a son may take up residence either with a father-in-law or go outside to work. In this way brothers are sometimes separated. A final factor is the age of the brothers. A man who has been married for some time usually has a son old enough to hunt with him. Since the pattern is for only two men to cooperate in the setting of traps, a man with a son old enough to help may separate from his brothers.

Brother (nintawe'ma') – Sister (nintawe'ma'): Older Brother (nisse'ns), Older Sister (nimisse'ns) – Younger Sibling (nišši'me'ns): There is the same extension of terms for the brother-sister relationship as for brother-brother relationship. The bond between a brother and sister, especially when they have the same mother and father, is very close and enduring. A brother stands in relation to his sister as a guardian, much as her father does, and yet without the age and authority differential. To all intents and purposes, a brother is the guardian and protector of his sister, especially when their father is dead and she is unmarried or widowed, less so when she is married and has a husband to care for her. A brother has limited authority over his sister. If a girl has no living parents it is her brother who makes the arrangements for her marriage unless their father's brother is alive. In that case he makes the arrangements, but only after consulting his brother's son. In one case a brother (actually a half-brother) was not consulted by his sister, a widow, when she remarried. He was quite upset about this and attributed the family's subsequent misfortune to the fact that she had not consulted her brothers and obtained their approval before she remarried. The misfortunes consisted of her second husband's death shortly after their marriage, the dispersal of the family, the death by hanging of one of her sons, and the animosities, confusion, and later sickness of another son when he married. A woman at the death of her husband returns to her father's home if he is living. If not, she theoretically comes under the jurisdiction of her brothers. Today, according to informants, the Government often dictates who shall care for a widow. In two cases men were authorized to care for their sisters-in-law but, an informant stated, one of the women should have returned to her father and the other, whose father was dead, to her brother.

A brother aids his sister in many ways. A man may give his sister presents whenever he feels like it, such as clothes, food and sometimes money, whether she is married or not. A brother may remain in the village and care for his sister while her husband is away, seeing that she is supplied with firewood and other necessities. A young brother will arrange meetings for his unmarried sister with unmarried boys and even sneak them into his parent's cabin where the couple spend the night without the adults' knowledge.

A sister before she or her brother marry does his sewing, cooks his meals, cares for his dogs, and does bead work for him. She may make beaded moccasins and mittens for him even after both are married. Sometimes she does this without his asking; he may on occasion give her a small amount of money for them. A sister may help her brother or summon aid when he is sick or suffers an accident. Occasionally a sister tattoos the back of her brother's hand.

A brother and sister talk freely to one another and a man can refer to sexual matters in the presence of his sister.¹ Joking between brother and sister is

1. This is said to be improper at Bearskin.

allowed when they are of the proper ages. When they are young and of the same age they are not supposed to joke, but if they are middle aged or elderly they may. One old man jokes with his elderly widowed sister, continually teasing her about remarrying. A brother married or unmarried, if he is not too young, can joke with his older or younger sister about marrying some old man. He refers to the old man as her "boy friend", or as his brother-in-law. Occasionally the older man singled out for this may be a Euro-Canadian working at Weagamow Lake, or it may be a widower living in the village. This appears to be a common form of joke for a brother.

For a brother to have sexual relations with his sister is considered incestuous. One informant thought he had heard of a case having occurred in the recent past. A rumor suggests that recently at a drinking party a boy had relations with a first parallel female cousin. This is possible, especially in view of the fact that the younger people are frequently in doubt as to the proper relationships between them now that the kinship system is undergoing change. Young men, not yet married, when asked if they could marry particular girls often replied that they were not sure but had heard their parents say the girl in question belonged to some particular class of relatives. They themselves did not know how the connection was traced. In spite of this, informants declared that an unmarried brother and sister could travel together alone and no one would worry about their conduct. This fact was emphasized and contrasted with brother-in-law and sister-in-law, who informants said, can not travel together unaccompanied by others since, if they did, people would "worry" about their conduct.

Sister (ni'tihkwe') - Sister (ni'tihkwe'¹): Very little data were collected regarding the relationship between sisters. Young sisters play together and are constant companions about the home. They form play groups with a tendency towards exclusiveness. As they grow older unmarried sisters co-operate in the daily tasks girls perform about the home. In all of these undertakings there is rarely any sign of trouble between sisters. The only time discord is observed is when an older sister is in charge of a young sister and orders her to do something. The younger sometimes rebels. With marriage sisters are separated but they still associate together whenever possible, and take an interest in each other's welfare.

Husband (niwi'ci'wa'kan, niwi'kima'kan) - Wife (niwi'ci'wa'kan, niwi'kima'kan): The terms for spouse are restricted to that individual to whom one is married and are not extended to any other person. Upon marriage a new and intimate interpersonal relationship comes into being, and on this relationship much of the life of the community depends. It is, of course, the nucleus of the family around which are built larger social units. Marriage also links together two existing families in a closer bond, the family of the man and that of the woman. The marriage relationship is a crucial structural feature which unites members of ego's generation in ever widening bonds. It is in large measure, coupled with other kin relationships, the means whereby the community is held together. It is a relationship which imposes many duties and obligations upon the couple, in consequence of which strains frequently develop.

The bond between a man and his wife develops with time. At first their relations tend to be reserved and formal. This alters as they grow older and the relation becomes more free and easy. With time they become genuinely devoted

1. This term may apply only to older sister, in which case through neglect no term was collected for sister. If this term does apply only to elder sister, then the term nišši'me'ns would be applied to younger sibling of both sexes.

to one another. In general the marriage bond is stable, in part probably as a result of the Euro-Canadian taboo on divorce, and the successful production of children, especially males, helps bind the couple together. Couples demonstrate deep concern for one another. A wife will worry when her husband fails to return from trapping when expected. She will sometimes write to him when they are separated. A man will show definite concern when his wife is sick and discuss her condition and what must be done. A man will forego trapping to remain at home to care for a sick wife. When a woman gives birth her husband is the only male allowed to be present. Elderly couples are often seen together acting as though they were equals and comrades, freely discussing their problems and those of others. Finally, man and wife joke with each other, sometimes in a sexual way.

A man and his wife form an economic unit in which one compliments the other on the basis of the division of labor according to sex. A husband provides food, both country game and store food, hides, and clothing for his wife. It is his duty to provide a house in which to live. He also makes all items of wood that she may require, such as cradle boards, gill net shuttles and gauges, wooden spoons, canoe paddles, and snowshoe frames. A man will on occasion draw water for his wife and split and saw firewood. A wife, on the other hand, reciprocates by lacing the snowshoes, making gill nets, preparing and cooking food, sewing and mending, and doing his laundry. She also makes a number of beaded items for him such as moccasins, mittens, belts, and beaded shoulder patches. Besides mutual economic obligations there are the sexual rights and duties inherent in the marriage relation.

Officially a man is in charge of his wife. He gives her orders as to the tasks which are to be undertaken and demands what he needs to satisfy his wants. The husband makes arrangements for effecting any joint tasks, such as moving camp. A man's superior status is reflected in other ways. The man has the place of honor in the house, he walks ahead of his wife, and he generally stands aloof from her when having dealings with Euro-Canadians. On the other hand, the woman is not without her rights. She advises her husband and subtly guides his ways: she is not his "slave." In one case, a woman who feared her husband simply refused to go with him into the bush when he went trapping for the winter. Nothing was nor could be done to alter her plans.

Although the ideal is one of harmony between a man and his wife, and this is generally the case, troubles do arise on occasion. Informants stated that most frequently trouble occurs between newly wedded couples. Troubles arise from acts of adultery, or the suspicion of it, or because of a feud between the parents of the couple. Adultery or the suspicion of adultery is the most common cause of trouble between a man and wife. In one of two cases of wife beating recorded, the husband continually suspected his wife of unfaithfulness. In this case the wife was most likely innocent of the charge. The man was of violent temper and perhaps slightly deranged. Jealousy is clearly recognized by informants and given as a reason for trouble. In the other case a man constantly beat his wife but the reason for his action was not specified. He was, however, mentally unbalanced. In two other cases men had frequent disputes with their wives because of their constant association with various widows. In one of these cases the man's wife also had a reputation for adultery, adding to the friction. In the other case the woman may not have been above reproach: she had produced one child before marriage. Trouble between newlyweds may occur if the wife has a baby within the first nine months of marriage. She is then thought to have

been very promiscuous before marriage. Although the Round Lake Ojibwa recognize a period of nine months for pregnancy, they say that conception can not occur through a single act of intercourse. The act must be repeated many times so that the man may "form" the baby inside the woman. Strict chastity is not expected, but pregnancy of unmarried or newly married women thus indicates a high degree of promiscuity. Most men do not care if this happens but a few do, and then there may be trouble. The wife is not abandoned although the man might not care properly for the child. It must be remembered that while acts of adultery can cause trouble between a man and his wife, sexual relations tend to be rather free and easy, especially before marriage, and generally little or no stigma is attached to such behavior. The problem usually arises only when a man or woman adopts the stricter ideals of Canadian society.

Another source of trouble between a man and his wife sometimes occurs when their families become involved in a feud. One case of this nature occurred recently. A young man married without the consent or knowledge of his father and went to live near his father-in-law. His father, annoyed by the situation, began to have troubles with the boy's father-in-law. The result was that the boy and his wife became involved and developed troubles of their own. Shortly thereafter the boy died and the widow went back to her father's residence. The feud between the two men still smolders.

Troubles that occur between a man and his wife are generally solved in time. If the discord between them becomes public knowledge members of the community may be asked to settle the dispute. Formerly (only five to ten years ago) the chief and other influential men of the community might talk to the couple advising them to reach an understanding. They would suggest that the guilty party mend his or her ways. An informant claimed that when he had trouble with his wife over his acts of adultery the chief talked to him and his wife. He said he listened to the chief and mended his ways.¹ The marriage is now a stable one with only occasional discord between the couple. Recently the chiefs have dropped the role of mediator now that their authority is practically gone. Their place has been taken by the native preachers. Even they, however, may not be listened to in their self-appointed task. The offending party may simply withdraw from the church. Euro-Canadian missionaries also attempt on occasion to act as mediators in family disputes but the results are generally the same. In this, as in many other similar situations, the Round Lake Ojibwa attempt to keep the Euro-Canadians from knowing what is happening in the community and thereby avoid interference. Often they are quite successful.

Formerly, the marriage bond was weak and divorce easy. A man simply told his wife to leave. A dissatisfied wife, on the other hand, had to desert her husband, usually with the aid of a lover. Even though legally permissible, today it is hardly possible, because of church rulings, for a man and woman to obtain a divorce. This has, of course, added to the strain in the marriage bond. Where troubles occur there is nothing that can be done except to make the best of the situation and maintain the fiction of marriage. No cases of separation have occurred at Weagamow Lake within the past few years, although there have been several attempts. One young man left his wife determined not to return, but did so within a short time. The reason for his action was not ascertained, but his is a family in name only: he tends to be a solitary individual who has little to do with his wife. Only one child was born, shortly after they were married. In 1. It is not at all clear that he actually did. It is suspected that he is still having affairs but employing greater discretion.

another case, the woman, who is on occasion beaten by her husband, refuses to go to his winter camp. In effect they are separated for a good part of the year and maintain a marriage only because they can do nothing to dissolve it.

Father's Brother (nimiššo'me'nš, nimiššo'me, no'hkomiss¹) - Brother's Son (ninto'šim) and Brother's Daughter (ninto'šimihkwe'm): The term employed for father's brother also applies to father's first² male parallel cousins, to mother's sister's husband, and to step-father. The term means literally "little grandfather."

The behavior between a man and his brother's children parallels in large measure that exhibited between a father and his children. Affection and interest for each other are dominant characteristics. A man recounted how he would worry when his uncle had not returned at the expected time. A father's brother aids his brother's son and is constantly advising him. Even after he is grown, a man frequently visits his father's brother.

So long as the individual's father is alive the relationship between father's brother and brother's son tends to remain latent. It only comes into full force at the death of the boy's father or when his mother dies and his father does not remarry. When this occurs a child's uncle becomes, as one informant stated, "like a father" and assumes the responsibility for his brother's children. It is difficult to state with certainty whether or not a grandfather would assume responsibility in preference to father's brother. The suggestion is that he would if young enough. This is documented by only two cases in which both father's brother and grandfather were known to be living at the same time. In all other cases either one or the other was dead. A father's brother sees that his brother's children are properly fed and clothed. At the marriage of a brother's son, he may give him a house.

A father's brother is an authority figure in much the same way as father when the latter is dead. Cases suggest that a man generally deals with his brother's children through the elder sibling, male or female. It is father's brother who arranges his brother's son's marriage when the appropriate time arrives. Brother's daughter's marriage is arranged in consultation with her brothers. Father's brother tends to his nephew's needs when the latter is sick. He takes him trapping and hunting and teaches him how to pursue these occupations. A father's brother not only instructs his nephew in these pursuits but gives him strict training in other matters as well. One man recounted how his uncle refused to let him play but kept him constantly at work, telling him that he would be lazy when he grew up if he were to indulge in play at this age. This informant harbored no ill feeling towards his uncle and said how sorry he felt once after he disobeyed his uncle. A father's brother gives things to his brother's children and makes and repairs their equipment. A father's brother has the right to borrow from his brother's son such items as guns and canoes.

Just as in the relationship between a father and his children that between a father's brother and brother's children changes with time. As the children grow older they aid their father's brother more and more, and he in turn exercises less authority over them. A boy helps his father's brother in many ways. He cuts wood, sometimes sets traps for him and he may pay part of his uncle's debt with the trader. An uncle at his discretion, may exercise less authority

1. This latter term though known at Weagamow Lake is only employed by a few people who have come from the north. It is the term used at Bearskin and means literally "little grandmother".
2. At Bearskin the term is extended to second male parallel cousin.

over his brother's children as they mature and especially after they marry. He may refrain from interfering with his nephew's desire to marry a particular girl, saying it is up to him, but he will insist that his nephew tell him when he plans to get married. It is said, a boy and his uncle can joke with one another about anything but no specific information was collected. In this respect, the relationship differs from that between father and son. A niece makes things for her father's brother. In one case a woman made during the winter of 1958-59 a rabbit-skin blanket for her father's brother. He supplied the rabbit skins. A niece and her husband may house her father's brother and family. This may be done when her father's brother and family return from the winter camp to the village for a short time.

No cases of trouble were recorded between a man and his brother's children. This can be attributed to several factors. One is the lack of sufficient data. Apart from this, it is suggested that the father's brother does not occupy as dominating an authority position as a father. As far as is known a father's brother's position is not supernaturally sanctioned as is that of father. A nephew is not afflicted with illness if he disobeys his father's brother. Nevertheless, it is said orphans have a powerful sanction over their guardians, who might well be the father's brother. If their guardians mistreat them they are given supernatural powers with which to establish their right to be cared for. Finally, after marriage of the nephew, interaction between the two is often reduced. At present there are no cases where married men in this relationship form trapping partners. This is in accord with the fact that the line of cleavage in the formation of hunting groups occurs between married brothers. By the time a boy marries his father's brother will have established his own hunting group distinct from that of his brother. His brother's son, then, will be a member of a different group.

Mother's Sister (ninto'siss), Sister's Son (ninto'sim), Sister's Daughter (ninto'simihkwe'm): The extension of terminology in this case is the same as that for father's brother-children. The relationship between a woman and her sister's children is somewhat comparable to that between a mother and children. As one informant stated, "it can almost be said that ninto'siss is the same as mother," but the Round Lake Ojibwa clearly recognize the distinction between true mother and ninto'siss. One boy whose father has remarried spoke of his mother with affection but rarely mentioned his step-mother. The full force of the relationship comes into being, however, under those circumstances which place a woman in charge of her sister's children. If the children's mother dies, their aunt may care for them. It must be remembered that this will more frequently be the father's brother's wife than the mother's sister.

When a sister's son reaches maturity he sees that his aunt is properly cared for. This is most frequently the case when his aunt is widowed and without sons. On one occasion during fieldwork a man from the south end of the village was observed chopping firewood by a house located in the northern part of the village. When asked why he was doing this, he replied "For my ninto'siss." He was proud of this even though he prepared no more than enough wood to last for several days. In another case a man cares for his father's father's brother's son's wife, a widow with no children of her own. She lives beside his house.

Even though a boy's mother is still living he sometimes looks after his aunt. In return a woman sometimes makes mittens and moccasins for her nephew without being asked. There is never any joking between these two individuals. For the most part the relationship does not appear to be a highly emotionally charged one.

The term for father-in-law is applied to mother's brother, father's sister's husband, and wife's father. The term for son-in-law is applied to sister's son, wife's brother's son and daughter's husband.

The relationship of father-in-law — son-in-law, although father's sister's husband — wife's brother's son and mother's brother — sister's son are of this class, is most strongly developed between a man and his wife's father. Informants always stressed this latter relationship rather than the other two. The following information, therefore, refers only to the behavior found existing between a man and wife's father. On the basis of available evidence it can be suggested that the relationship between father's sister's husband — wife's brother's son and mother's brother — sister's son are different in content and weakly developed. This is true only where cross-cousin marriage is not in operation. When marriage is with a cross-cousin then the relationships coincide.

Ideally, a man after marriage continues to reside in close proximity to his father but in a separate household. Under such conditions, a man infrequently associates with his father-in-law. This is not always the case, due to various factors, among which the most important is the death of the father. Several men who have joined their fathers-in-law said they had done so because they had no fathers. In such cases it is the father-in-law who asks his son-in-law to join him. During the period of fieldwork there were nineteen married men who had either a father or father-in-law or both living. Of four who had both living, two men associated with their father, one with father-in-law, although his household is in the vicinity of his father's, and one man alternated between father-in-law and father, having his household close to that of his father-in-law. Fourteen men had only a father-in-law living and of these five were permanently attached to their fathers-in-law and one for part of the time. Two men had only a father living. One of these associated with his father. The figures are too small to be very significant.

The association of a man and his father-in-law occurs with enough regularity for informants to be able to state clearly the proper behavior enjoined on the two and to cite cases where the norms have been violated. Ideally, when the relationship comes into full force (i.e. when the two men become partners, primarily in economic pursuits, and perhaps reside near each other) the two men are expected to co-operate, to aid and care for each other, and are free to borrow each other's equipment. A son-in-law is expected to give the entire carcass, meat and hide, of every moose and caribou he kills to his father-in-law. The father-in-law then distributes the meat to all those present. Some informants stated that not every son-in-law does this. In one case witnessed, a man distributed the meat from moose he had killed to the entire village himself, rather than turning it over to his father-in-law for distribution. The latter, however, got a larger share than the others. There were no hard feelings between the two men and the younger said of his father-in-law that "he is like a father to me." Distribution of meat by the hunter himself may represent a new pattern due to the introduction of a money economy. Today, most goods are given a monetary value and belong to the individual who secures them. Moose meat, for instance, is often sold rather than distributed throughout the community as a gift. Besides giving his father-in-law moose and caribou, a son-in-law is expected to aid in other ways. A man may give firewood to his father-in-law and buy clothes for him. The latter term, although occasionally employed by Round Lake Ojibwa, is the appropriate term for son-in-law at Bearskin.

him when needed. If a father-in-law leaves his family in the village when he goes to his winter camp, a son-in-law and his family may move in with the father-in-law's family and see to their care. The relationship is reciprocal. A father-in-law aids his son-in-law especially when the latter is in need. A father-in-law gives meat of moose and caribou he shoots to his son-in-law or shares fish with him. Furthermore, a man is free to borrow from his father-in-law. One man spoke of borrowing dogs¹ from his father-in-law with which to hunt moose.

In time if a man has no father and is intimately associated with his father-in-law a warm bond usually develops between them. As noted before, one informant said that his father-in-law "is like a father to me." Another elderly informant stated that his son-in-law was "like a member of the family." A myth recounts how a son-in-law aided his father-in-law to overcome an illness. It is frequently stated that if a man proves to be a good son-in-law, in the event of his wife's death he will be given her sister as a second wife. On this basis several men are pointed out as "good" sons-in-law since their second wives are sisters of their first wives.

Amicable relations between a man and his father-in-law are not always the rule. One young man just prior to his marriage said he would not give gifts to his father-in-law nor would the latter aid him. The young man was first going to see how their relationship developed before doing anything. His future father-in-law had a reputation for causing trouble. Troubles do occur today although they are not as violent as in the past. Formerly, a father-in-law might try to kill his son-in-law, but it is emphasized that the latter would not try to harm his father-in-law. Rather he would simply leave the neighbourhood.

A trusted informant recounted the following story about his father's father when a young man. He had married a woman from a band to the west of Weagamow Lake, and resided with her in her father's camp. Once the man's father-in-law held a dog feast and invited his son-in-law to attend. The latter did not approve and his father-in-law became angry. Later the father-in-law asked his son-in-law to accompany him trapping. The first night, the informant's grandfather (the son-in-law) became suspicious of his father-in-law. After the older man had gone to sleep the son-in-law took his gun. In the morning before his father-in-law woke he went to the lakeshore and discharged the gun into the water. When asked what he was doing he replied that he was shooting at a mink and the incident ended. On another occasion when they were out hunting, the informant's grandfather stopped to build a fire while his father-in-law went ahead. After the older man left, the son-in-law slipped out of camp. Soon he saw his father-in-law returning with his gun raised ready to shoot. He then spoke to his father-in-law but the latter did nothing. Shortly thereafter his father-in-law said, "I am going to snare rabbits." The informant's grandfather by now was very suspicious and afraid of his father-in-law. Accordingly, he returned to Weagamow Lake leaving his wife, who was pregnant at that time, with her father. At Weagamow Lake he took a new wife. There is no reason to doubt this story, but it is of special interest because of its close correspondence to a long myth told by the Round Lake Ojibwa. The myth involves a man, ko·sowa·pin (Round Lake Ojibwa) or we·mišo·s (Bearskin informant). This man in the course of five episodes attempts to kill his son-in-law. The latter each time outwits his father-in-law but does not try to kill him. In the end the older man is drowned. This myth suggests that trouble between a man and his father-in-law is a recognized feature of the relationship but that with time and patience the son-in-law will emerge the victor.

1. He had none himself.

In another case an informant (Bearskin) and his wife's sister's husband lost all their male offspring. The two men consulted with each other and decided that their father-in-law was the cause of their sorrow. He was a powerful shaman. When the informant's second son was born he dreamed that his son was attacked by a "white bear" which represented the power of his father-in-law. The informant was able to save his son by recounting the dream to his wife. Later he told the story to his father-in-law, who by this time was thought to have given up his power. As far as is known no trouble resulted between the two men but it does indicate the tensions inherent in the relationship and the possibility for open trouble to emerge.

There is no avoidance of father-in-law nor is their a joking relationship. It is of interest in this connection that to the north¹ special words are employed for addressing one's wife's father and mother which are not employed by the Round Lake Ojibwa. In these more northern groups, unless a man is alone with his father-in-law, he is not expected to speak to him except in case of extreme urgency. The converse holds true for the father-in-law. The same custom applies for son-in-law and mother-in-law.

Mother-in-law (nisikoss) – Son-in-law (nininkwan, ninaha'nkašši'm): The term nisikoss is applied to father's sister, mother's brother's wife, and wife's mother. The term nininkwan applies to brother's son, husband's sister's son, and daughter's husband. The relationship stressed by informants was that between a man and his wife's mother. As one informant stated, "One does not do as much for father's sister." This is true only when cross-cousin marriage is not involved. When this occurs the two are equated.

A man aids his mother-in-law indirectly as well as directly if her husband is still alive, and directly if he is dead. In the first case she benefits through the gifts such as moose and caribou that her son-in-law makes to her husband. He also gives her gifts directly, such as nice sweaters and money. If she is a widow and has no sons living then her son-in-law is expected to care for her. One informant said that now, even though his mother-in-law was widowed he still took care of her. He implied by this that since he had respected his father-in-law and aided him it was only natural that he should continue to care for his family.

A mother-in-law aids her son-in-law. She makes beaded moccasins and mittens for him without payment. A man will say with pride of the moccasins he is wearing that they were made for him by his mother-in-law. There is no joking relationship between a man and his mother-in-law nor is there avoidance. As noted, remarks made previously in this connection with regard to father-in-law – son-in-law apply equally to mother-in-law – son-in-law. As far as could be ascertained through observation and from informant's statements troubles between a mother-in-law and son-in-law are rare or non-existent. No cases were recounted.

Father-in-law (niššišše'ns) – Daughter-in-law (ninaha'ka'nihkwe'm): Practically no data were collected regarding the relationship between a man and his daughter-in-law. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that the relations between them are minimal and accordingly the relationship is not emphasized. Nevertheless a woman is indirectly under the dominance of her father-in-law. All that was gleaned was the statement by one informant that a daughter-in-law was "like a part of the family."

1. Sachigo, Bearskin, Big Beaverhouse and Big Trout Lake except for those inhabitants of the Fawn River.

Mother-in-law (nisikoss) - Daughter-in-law (ninaha'ka'nihkwe'm): This also is a poorly documented relationship. It is not due to the fact that these two individuals are separated in independent households for frequently a widow lives with her son in the same household as her daughter-in-law. From direct observation the relationship between the two women tends to be amicable but informants stated that trouble sometimes occurs. It has been mentioned that a mother usually sides with her son against her daughter-in-law. Only one case of trouble was reported. A woman, for causes which could not be determined, struck her mother-in-law, who lived with the family, over the head with a piece of firewood. The woman's son brought her to the village for treatment. The case was to a large extent kept secret from the Euro-Canadians.

Brother-in-law (ni'hta'wiss) - Brother-in-law (ni'hta'wiss): The term brother-in-law is extended to second male cross-cousin, wife's brother, and in some cases to the husband of wife's sister. This last extension is in a state of flux and on occasion this relative is called "brother." Another point should be mentioned. One informant claimed that if one's married sister died her husband is no longer considered a brother-in-law. Unfortunately, no further information was collected about this, nor about changes in other affinal relationships where death removed the connecting link.

The relationship between brothers-in-law is in many ways similar to that between brothers. Several informants said that ni'hta'wiss were "like brothers." One, a man of about seventy, said he had never seen any trouble between brothers-in-law. It is stressed that they never try to kill each other. In several cases recorded in which a man asked his brother-in-law (approaching either the man himself or his father) to trap with him the reason given was that ni'hta'wiss are "close friends." In this connection, a story related by a Bearskin informant is of interest. One winter when out trapping this man met a stranger from farther north (a maški'ko'aniššini). After they had shaken hands the stranger said that he had been told he would find his ni'hta'wiss at this camp and gave the name of his relative. It happened that this was the informant. The latter identified himself. They again shook hands and expressed great pleasure at having met each other. The ni'hta'wiss relationship immediately established a bond of friendship and trust. The actual operation of the brother-in-law relationship tends to come into existence only when a man is without appropriate patri-kin as guardian or trapping partner. This occurs with the death of all close patri-kin but sometimes apparently because of difficulties which have separated patri-kin. One man who had two half-brothers of active age nevertheless during the period of fieldwork generally hunted and trapped with his wife's brother, never with his half-brothers. Another factor is over-crowding of a trapping territory. When this happens one or more of a set of brothers may be invited to trap with a brother-in-law.

Brothers-in-law are expected to advise, care for and aid each other when the occasion arises. This occurs less frequently than with brothers, but the reciprocal duties and obligations are of the same nature. One man with no patri-kin told how he had been cared for by his sister's husband, a man much older than himself. His brother-in-law gave him food and clothing and bought things at the store for him. Later the younger man helped his brother-in-law whenever he could, sometimes even giving him furs. The older brother-in-law taught the younger to hunt and trap and was pleased when the younger man shot his first moose. The informant stated that they never had any troubles. Other cases were recounted of brothers-in-law helping each other. When food is scarce each sees

that the other and his family have enough to eat. Brothers-in-law are occasionally trapping partners or work together at wage labor. They will borrow each other's things, such as dogs with which to go moose hunting: no pay is expected in such cases. A brother-in-law may bring the other's furs to the trader for him. A man advises his ni'hta'wiss. In one case the advice pertained to marriage, one brother-in-law pointing out to his unmarried brother-in-law the proper girl for him. Brothers-in-law also consult one another about the marriage of their children through the operation of cross-cousin marriage. Finally, when the two men are separated they sometimes write to each other.

Brother-in-law (ni'nim, ni'cimoss) - Sister-in-law (ni'nim, ni'cimoss):
These kin terms are extended in the same manner as the term for brothers-in-law.

The relationship between a man and his sister-in-law differs from all other kin relationships in one important respect. She, of all consanguinal and affinal relatives, is a potential spouse. The relationship tends to be free and easy, especially before they are married.

Two views are held regarding the behavior of a man and his sister-in-law. The elders of the community feel that if a couple standing in this relationship are not married they should infrequently speak and associate. The people would worry, "fearing they might have sexual relations." If, on the other hand, they are married to separate spouses they are free to talk to one another. But from the point of view of the man and his sister-in-law they are free to joke with one another. They joke about sleeping together and other sexual matters. This is a common practice, according to one informant, at Bearskin, while only some Round Lake Ojibwa engage in it.

Occasionally a man and his sister-in-law help each other. She, for example, may make moccasins and do laundry for her brother-in-law if he is not married. He helps her in return.

The sororate is not infrequently practiced, although not prescribed. Its operation is contingent upon two factors. First, the man's father-in-law must be satisfied that his son-in-law is a good man and that the first marriage was harmonious. Secondly, the man himself must feel that his wife's sister is suitable as a second wife. Some men feel that wife's sister is like a wife and therefore desire her as a replacement. On the other hand, some men feel that their wives' sisters are like their own sisters and because of this do not wish to marry them.

Theoretically, if a woman's husband dies she returns to the home of her father or a brother to await remarriage. During this interval she is again subject to their authority. The Government has now interfered with this system. In two cases brothers-in-law are caring for their widowed sisters-in-law. Informants claim that this is at the order of the Government, and that if it were not for the Euro-Canadian authorities one of these women would have returned to her father and another to her brother.

Sister-in-law (ninca'košš) - Sister-in-law (ninca'košš): This is a relationship for which there is very meager data. Sisters-in-law are never members of the same household and accordingly do not have an opportunity to associate as do sisters.¹ As far as is known troubles never occur between sisters-in-law as might be expected under the conditions of separations. Nor do sisters-in-law aid one another and take particular interest in each other's welfare as do sisters.

1. Note that the wives of brothers, who might associate, consider themselves sisters, not sisters-in-law, according to the Round Lake Ojibwa kinship system.

LIFE CYCLE

Introduction:

The Round Lake Ojibwa, like people the world over, pass through a number of stages during the course of their lives. Among the Round Lake Ojibwa the transitions from stage to stage are not marked by any special ceremonies or rites of passage except one. This is the marriage ceremony. Today, however, it is a purely Euro-Canadian rite.

A number of ages in the life of an individual (Table 16) are recognized and named by the Round Lake Ojibwa.

TABLE 16

Stages in the Life of the Individual, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

	Ojibwa Designation	English Designation
1.	<u>ki^okiškawa^owasso</u>	"foetus"
2. a)	<u>oškawa^ošišš</u>	"new baby"(until trying to walk)
	b) <u>awa^ošišš</u>	"baby"
3.	<u>na^ope^ons</u> (boy)	"child" (until puberty)
	<u>ihkwe^ose^ons</u> (girl)	"child" " "
4. a)	<u>oškini^oki</u> (boy)	"adolescent (unmarried)
	<u>oškini^okihkwē^o</u> (girl)	"adolescent (unmarried)
	b) <u>kihci^o-oškini^oki</u> (man)	"adult"
	<u>kihci^o-oškini^okihkwē^o</u> (woman)	"adult"
5. a)	<u>na^ope^o</u> (man)	"man" (married)
	<u>ihkwe^o</u> (woman)	"woman" "
	b) <u>ši^okawina^ope^o</u> (man)	"widower"
	<u>ši^okawihkwē^o</u> (woman)	"widow"
6.	<u>kihci^oyaha^oor kihci-na^ope^o</u> (man)	"elder"
	<u>kihci^ohkwe^o</u> (woman)	"elder"
7.	<u>nimiššo^om</u>	"my grandfather"
	<u>kihci-nimiššo^om</u>	"my great grandfather"
	<u>ko^ohkomina^on</u>	"our grandmother" ¹
	<u>kihci-ko^ohkomina^on</u>	"our great grandmother"
	<u>kiše^onini</u>	"old person"

1. This term and the one immediately following were recorded with first person plural inclusive possessor: "our" meaning "yours and mine." It is not known whether the term could be applied to any elderly woman, not grandmother, with a first person singular possessor as for "my (great) grandfather." The term "my great grandfather" applying to any old man, also appears with first person plural exclusive possessor: kihci-nimiššo^omina^on.

The following account traces the life of the individual through each stage from conception to death. The individuals in any one stage constitute a class differentiated from other classes (i.e. stages) on the basis of age and internally on the basis of sex. Accordingly, what is being described in effect are particular roles. These roles operate, in part, within the framework of kinship, e.g. the behavior of a young boy is conducted in relation to his father, mother, or other relatives as well as non-relatives. Since kin relationships have already been described little further mention need be made. Rather the primary aim is to describe the behavior of individuals operating within any one stage, not the

interactions of members of different stages. Nevertheless, differentiation is frequently impossible. In addition, strictly cultural behavior has been introduced to supplement data on social behavior and give coherence and a fuller picture of the life cycle.

Conception and Pregnancy:

The Round Lake Ojibwa recognize the role of both a man and a woman in the production of children. The higher place is accorded the man. By frequently sleeping with his wife a man "fills the woman" (i.e. forms the foetus).¹ The woman has nothing to do with the process of conception except to act as a "container" for the baby. Casual intercourse will not produce a baby. Intercourse is continued until advanced stages of pregnancy and in some cases almost until the moment of birth. Generally, however, near the end of pregnancy the wife sleeps apart from her husband so as not to be disturbed. There is no stated period during which intercourse is prohibited after a birth has occurred. Informants said that intercourse could commence within a few to thirty days.

During the initial stages of pregnancy a woman performs her usual tasks but, as the date of birth approaches, the expectant mother begins to take life a little easier. A man sometimes obtains a widow to aid his wife at this time, and at the birth. The diminution of work, in part, at least, has been due to ideas acquired from Euro-Canadian medical personnel who have treated the Round Lake Ojibwa. So many women in the past lost a number of children that now they are occasionally taken to a hospital to have their babies. Men worry about the possibility of losing a child, and attempt to have their wives sent to the hospital even when there is no need.

Childbirth:

As the date of parturition draws near, certain preparations are made. no'-hkici'ssak ("rotten wood") is collected and thoroughly dried. Another item that is secured before the birth of an infant is silk thread which must be pink in color. Arrangements are also made with the woman or women who are to deliver the baby. There are several women in the village who act as mid-wives (ota'-hpina'wasso) on frequent occasions. When the woman is at a winter camp other women present, depending on their age, assist her. If she is alone on the trail with her husband, he delivers the baby. Otherwise, the husband never does so. For several days before the birth the mid-wife remains during the night with the expectant mother. During the evening and at the time of birth the woman's mother, mother-in-law, and sisters spend a great deal of time with her. The husband and father of the woman are also concerned with the arrival of the baby. On one occasion an informant was visiting when he was notified that his daughter was about to have her baby and was in some pain. This man, who was generally quite lethargic, immediately left in a hurry saying he was going to see his daughter. To hasten a delivery the leaves of ihkwe'wašk are boiled in water and the decoction drunk by the expectant mother. The birth of twins although a rare occurrence is not considered of any special significance.

The cabin in which the birth takes place and where the mother remains is generally her own home. One case was reported in which a woman gave birth at her mother's home. This is exceptional.

After a woman has given birth certain measures are taken to ensure her well
1. Intercourse is prohibited only when a woman is menstruating although this can be overcome by the use of contraceptives by the men. Contamination by menstrual blood may cause oncine'. (See oncine' under Religion p.D25).

being. Sphagnum moss secured with a piece of cloth is employed to absorb the blood. A binder is placed about the woman's stomach so that "when heal up her stomach get small." The binder is sometimes worn for as long as a week depending on how the new mother feels. As soon as her strength returns the binder is removed. The cabin is kept quite warm and the new mother warmly dressed as she should not be too cold nor too hot. The afterbirth is disposed of in one of two ways depending on the time of year. During the winter a long pole is secured and colored string and the afterbirth are tied to one end. The pole is taken into the bush and erected vertically. During the summer the afterbirth is frequently buried.

Infancy:

An infant is carefully tended. At birth it is not washed. When asked if infants were washed at birth one woman said most emphatically, "No. Never." No reason for this could be ascertained, but the custom is rigidly adhered to. There is no doubting the importance of this habit, and Euro-Canadians who are called upon to care for a new born infant deplore the practice and do all in their power to combat it. Yet it persists in full force. A few days after birth the infant's hands and face are washed: this appears to be a concession to the Euro-Canadians.

When a baby is born no^ohkici^ossak is broken into a powder and rubbed on the umbilical cord. If no^ohkici^ossak is not available the silk thread is cut into tiny pieces and rubbed in the hands (by a woman) until it is like cotton batten. This is employed as a swab with which to rub lard or fish oil on the umbilical cord. When the umbilical cord falls off and if the navel has healed properly it is covered with powdered no^ohkici^ossak. If the navel looks red and sore then the leaves of ka^okike^opako^on are boiled and the navel washed with the liquid. After this has been done, the leaves of ka^okike^opako^on which have been boiled and dried are made into a powder. A small amount of "grease" and the powdered leaves are then placed on a clean cloth. This bandage is then tied in place over the navel. The covering is examined every day and if pus forms the bandage is changed. This is continued until the navel heals. If ka^okike^opako^on is not available, napaka^ontak^owanake^ohk is used instead and in the same way.

After the umbilical cord has been treated, the infant is secured in a moss sack (kaš^okici^opison) where it is kept for the first week of its life. A moss sack is used in preference to a cradle board (tihkina^okan) because the child must lie perfectly flat until the umbilical cord comes off and the navel heals. If the infant were placed in a cradle board and then stood up, it might slip down in the cradle board and pull out the umbilical cord. Sphagnum moss¹ is employed as a diaper. The clothes and moss sack for the infant are made before its birth.

At the end of one week the infant is placed on a cradle board² where it remains for the greater part of the next two years, although after the first year more time is spent outside the cradle. Before the infant is placed on the cradle board it is first encased in a moss sack. A small pillow made of i^oninišš^oip feathers is placed under the infant's head. In cold weather the infant may be

1. awa^ošišš^oi^owahkamik, a form of maš^oki^okohkamik, is used.

2. There is some confusion as to when the cradle board is made. One informant (Bearskin) said it was made only after the baby was born. Another informant (Round Lake Ojibwa) said it was made before the baby was born and a third informant (Round Lake Ojibwa) said it could be made either before or after the infant's birth.

wrapped in a small rabbitskin blanket, before being put on the cradle board. The infant is held in place on the board by lacings. One informant said that occasionally, in place of the lacings, a zipper is used, although none was observed. As the child grows in size a larger cradle board is made for it, but after the child has passed the cradle board stage it may continue to sleep in a moss sack for a time.

A mother begins to nurse her new born baby soon after its birth. There is no prejudice against use of the colostrum. If milk does not come immediately the infant is given a hare ear dipped in water to suck. If the milk is very slow to come, a man or adolescent boy attempts to start the flow, on the grounds that they are stronger than infants. Alternatively the woman places the bowl of a pipe over her nipples and by sucking on the pipe attempts to stimulate the flow of milk. In some cases the infant is given to another nursing mother who feeds it until its own mother is able. An infant is nursed or bottle fed, a common practice today, whenever and wherever it demands food. The mother generally leaves the baby laced in the cradle, merely placing the cradle across her lap. An infant is nursed until it is between three and four years old. In one case observed, a girl of three years and three months, was still being given the breast whenever she was upset and began to whimper.

If the infant's mother dies at birth, which today infrequently occurs, the maternal grandmother takes over care of the infant. If this woman is not alive then the infant's mother's sister assumes its care. But if this aunt has many children and does not feel able to care for another then the child's father's sister cares for it. The motherless child is fed fish liquor if no wet nurse is available. This probably applied more strictly in the past, as evaporated milk is in common use today. During the first year of the child's life it is introduced to solid foods whether its mother is living or not. It is fed pablum or some women take fish roe and cook it like oatmeal. Other soft foods are also given the infant.

Infants are indulged and fussed over by all their relatives, especially grandparents who visit their young grandchildren frequently. The child is rarely out of sight of a relative, generally its mother. Whatever she may be doing the cradle board is propped up so that the infant may watch and gain attention to its demands. When the youngster begins to fret its mother feeds it, or she or an older daughter stand the cradle up and jerk it back and forth.

Childhood:

Childhood is a period in which the child becomes fully cognizant of the world about him, is indoctrinated in the customs of his people, and has the greatest amount of freedom from restraints. It is the training period during which the child is prepared for the adult role.

Both the child's mother and father care for it. The mother assumes the largest share of this task. The father is willing to help but frequently lacks his wife's motherly touch. One case is vividly remembered. A middle-aged man, devoted to his children, was one evening left in charge of them while their mother went visiting. The youngest child began to whimper. The father picked it up and tried to soothe it. He started walking slowly back and forth across the room talking occasionally to the child, but with no success. His pace quickened as his impatience rose. After about an hour he could stand no more. He went to the window, pounded on it to attract his wife, and in loud tones demanded her return.

For the first few years of a child's life it is given a great deal of freedom.

Its desires are acceded to in a good-natured manner. Physical punishment is rarely employed. One informant claimed that a child might be spanked but no case was observed. There was one case in which a child who was causing a fuss when being loaded into a canoe was struck on the head in an attempt to quiet it. Verbal commands and lectures are employed to gain conformity: stories and myths are still told children whenever they ask for them and, through these tales, proper behavior is instilled. Grandmothers often play the leading role in story telling. Children are taught to aid others and to listen to the advice of their elders.

An informant said that it is easy to teach girls but difficult to teach boys. If a boy is told not to do something, the very next minute he is doing just that. It is especially bad if a son is born after a series of girls. The girls "love their little brother" and whatever he does they laugh at him, rather than correct him. For this reason he becomes "smart" and his parents have difficulty with him. Less difficulty is encountered if the first born are boys. The older boys tend to train the younger ones so that their parents do not have so much trouble controlling and educating them. In this connection it might be mentioned that a father has more actual control over his children, especially his sons, than does the mother.

A child between the ages of two and a half and five years is the least controllable, or perhaps it should be said that during this period there is little attempt to control him. As far as the child's parents are concerned he can do practically anything he pleases. Their greatest concern is that he does not wander away from home, in case he gets lost or falls into the water and drowns. In some cases the child is secured to a tree or stake with a rope tied about his waist but if he begins to have tantrums he is released, and an older sibling told to watch that he does not wander away. Sometimes a fence is built about the cabin to confine the wanderings of a toddler.

The loss of children is a constant anxiety in the minds of parents. One such case which occurred about twenty to twenty-five years ago is still discussed. The informant's wife had died and his young daughter was being cared for by another man and his wife. The woman had gone out to collect šikop and had taken the little girl with her. On the way back to camp the woman was in the lead, but when she got home the little girl was not behind her. For three days the family searched, and at the end of this time the girl's father arrived in camp and was told what had happened. He was "very sad" and started for Weagamow Lake to get help. He had gone perhaps ten miles and was paddling along the shores of atihkame'k lake. He said he was paddling "as though in a daze" not really cognizant of his surroundings. Suddenly he heard a voice cry out "ta'ta'". He stopped, looked in the direction of the voice, and there on the bank was his daughter, whom he hardly recognized. He just sat there and looked, thinking it was a spirit he saw and that he was crazy and imagining it all because of his grief. The little girl cried out again. This time her father went to her and took her into the canoe. He was so afraid of losing her that he tied a rope to her and when he came to the portage to Weagamow Lake led her by the rope while carrying the canoe. On his arrival at Weagamow Lake he took her to the chief who looked after her. They were afraid she might go off again.

There can be no doubt that the Round Lake Ojibwa fear to lose their children. This fear does not appear to be due solely to their love of children, although this undoubtedly plays the greatest part. People who "just disappeared" became wi'ntiko' and traveled about eating people. This fact was mentioned in

connection with the above story, and it was implied that the people feared the girl had become a wi'ntiko.

The physical well-being of children is not neglected. It is seen that they are properly dressed when going outside. When traveling, especially during winter, great care is taken of children. If they become tired they are carried on the toboggan.

Concern for children is shown in other ways. All the toys a child constructs when playing about the camp are soon thereafter destroyed, especially when camp is moved. This is done in case the child later dies. The sight of the things he made would bring back memories of the child and sorrow to its parents. Informants' dreams reveal their interest and concern for their children. One man had the following dream. One night he was attacked by a medium sized animal which had a round grey head like a cat. The informant was able to grasp the animal by the throat, hold it, and eventually throw it off. When the man awoke from his dream, his young son was crying. It took the mother an hour to quiet her son carrying him around in her arms. The dream did not necessarily mean that evil was directed against his son but it was not a good sign.¹ The informant had the feeling that the animal in his dream was trying to harm his son.

Other omens besides dreams also indicate the concern parents have for their children. The following case illustrates one such type of omen, in this case, nintašimiko'win.² One day a man went home for lunch. He sat down, said grace, and then began to eat. He put his fork down and turned to speak to his wife. When he turned back his knife and fork were gone. Soon thereafter his wife had a baby but it lived only two days. The loss of the knife and fork was interpreted as an omen of this event.

Although children of either sex are desired and welcomed, males tend to be indulged to a greater degree than females. Informants spoke with enthusiasm about their sons in contrast to their daughters, the antics of sons being recounted frequently but those of daughters rarely. One informant told with evident pride how his young son was maturing. He could get up on the table by himself and in one instance pulled their radio down and broke the case. On another occasion he tried to break the glass in a new sideboard the man had recently acquired. This, the informant stated, showed how smart and strong his son was in contrast to his daughters. He spoke as though with regret that the glass in the doors of the sideboard had not been broken, and with the hope that eventually his son would accomplish this feat. There was no idea that the property was of any value as compared to the actions of his son. In another case, previously recorded, a father allowed his young son to pull a pack of cigarette papers apart and scatter them in the wind. The father laughingly gathered the papers up but did not reprimand his son. Girls are also indulged to a certain extent and are certainly not neglected. In some cases, for instance, traps are set for a daughter and the fur taken is considered hers. One girl caught a mink and "lots" of weasels during the winter of 1958-59.

As a child grows older he is given small tasks to perform. By the time children reach puberty they are performing most tasks although in many cases not as competently as adults. Since the tasks of females are confined primarily to the home and do not usually require as much strength as male tasks, girls start to work earlier than boys. Girls aid their mothers in many ways. They

1. Dreams of this nature are referred to by the Round Lake Ojibwa as nimaca'panta'n "I see something bad." See Prophecy under Religion p.D32
2. See Prophecy under Religion p.D35

care for younger siblings, wash dishes and clothing, do some cooking, carry water, and saw and split firewood. A girl accompanies her mother whenever she sets and tends hare snares. Boys on the other hand rarely perform tasks normally allotted to girls. Instead they accompany their fathers fishing, trapping, and occasionally hunting when they are old enough, generally around nine to ten years of age.

Boys and girls are taught early to deal with the traders. Furs caught by or given to a boy are taken by him to the store for sale. Even a very small boy may be seen with a squirrel skin which he takes to the trader for sale, while his mother watches approvingly. After receiving his money he toddles back and hands it to his mother. Older boys go to the store with age mates or accompanied by their fathers. Once the sale is made and they have received their money it is theirs to spend as they desire. A father may advise his son as to what to purchase but after that the son is considered free to decide for himself.

Boys and young girls have much free time for play. As soon as a child is able to walk he is out with his older siblings. During the summer they spend the greater part of the daylight outside. Play groups are usually segregated by sex. Girls play with dolls, erect play houses, and in many ways attempt to imitate their mothers. At times a group may go berrying. There are always two or more girls together of varying age, and most frequently sisters. Troubles between them are rare. There is not sufficient evidence to state categorically that troubles are more frequent between non-relatives, but it is suggested, that this is the case. When trouble occurs it is of short duration. In one case observed, a small girl was swinging. A second wanted a turn and began to strike at the first girl. She retaliated and the other began to cry but continued to strike back. Soon the girl who was swinging stopped, put her arm around the crying girl, and helped her into the swing.

Boys have their own forms of amusement. All summer long they play marbles. At other times they roam the village looking for some form of distraction. On occasion they hunt small birds with a slingshot. Boys always go around in small groups of two, three, or four. Generally they are siblings or close neighbors.

A winter school has recently been established in the village. Children between the ages of six and sixteen are supposed to attend but not all do. Generally the younger children go during one half of the day and the older children during the other half.

Adolescence:

With the advent of puberty life for boys and girls begins to change although the transition is gradual. No longer are there any puberty rites to mark the assumption of this new role. Adolescents are expected to spend much more time in adult pursuits and less time playing. There is also a new factor, the attraction between those of opposite sex.

Adolescents, especially boys, although still closely associated with and bound to their families of orientation, show greater freedom and independence of action in certain spheres. Nevertheless, their training by adults continues. Boys are given intensive instruction in hunting and trapping, while girls continue to perfect their skill in domestic tasks and prepare themselves for marriage. Both sexes are given lectures by their parents, especially the father, on proper behavior and in the values of the culture. One young man related how his father talked seriously to him one morning at 4:00 a.m. about the evil of discussing the troubles between people in the community. The father's advice was

effective since this young man from that day on would never discuss cases of trouble nor act as interpreter when such cases arose in discussions with informants. Another man told how on frequent occasions he would gather his children, several of whom were in their teens, together in the evening and talk to them about proper behavior.

Adolescents of either sex are able to perform adults tasks and aid as near-equals the adult members of the community. Since they have not assumed the responsibilities of marriage they lead a less settled existence and in the case of boys frequently do not work as hard as most adults. One boy was criticized strongly by several men because he did no work and merely wandered about the village. It must be pointed out that there are many exceptions to this statement and some teenage boys work hard and steadily. Usually these are boys whose families spend the greater part of their time in the bush. The growth of a settled life in the village of Round Lake has altered the activities of the adolescent boys to a large extent. One informant pointed out that adolescent boys who trapped with him were always lonesome and wanted to return to the village.¹ This informant could not understand why boys did not like to remain in the bush as he did. Several factors may account for this opinion, including the greater social activity of village life, which is certainly an attraction to the boys. The strenuous life in the bush is another factor repelling them from trapping and hunting. A personal factor may enter in this particular case. This informant was a very hard worker, driving himself for long hours every day of the week. It can easily be understood why boys who accompanied him wanted to return to the village.

Adolescent girls are expected to perform woman's work, aiding their mothers in care of the home and younger children, and waiting upon the male members. Adolescent boys are expected to aid their fathers and contribute to the support of the households. The boys cut, saw and split firewood, aid in the recanvassing of canoes, tend and care for fish nets, hunt, trap, and work for wages. Although all boys perform these tasks, individual variation is large. In trapping, for example, five of fourteen boys from sixteen through nineteen years of age took no mink and eight boys of the same group took no beaver. A few of the teenage boys rarely if ever left the village to trap during the entire period of fieldwork. In general a teenage boy secures on the average about one-third the number of mink and beaver taken by an adult (Table 17). Furthermore, the best trappers among the boys only take about one-half the number of mink and beaver taken by the best adult trappers.

TABLE 17

Range and Average Numbers of Mink and Beaver Trapped by Selected Age Groups of Males, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Age of Trapper	Range		Average	
	Mink	Beaver	Mink	Beaver
20-59	3-35	0-24	16.9	8.4
15-19	0-19	0-13	5.0	2.4

The same is true in other activities such as fishing and to a certain extent in hunting. In general, big game is killed only by adult members because of the skill needed in tracking these animals. In the capture of smaller game such as

1. This informant said the same was true of married men who accompanied him and had left their families at the village.

pine' and hares adolescents are quite proficient. In wage work only one boy under the age of twenty took employment away from the village although several over this age who were not yet married were away working. Boys under twenty do occasionally perform wage work about the village for the Government.

Recreation, excluding for the moment flirting between adolescents, is limited. Girls have few if any real games. They may occasionally engage in a bit of horseplay but in general are occupied with household tasks. At other times when there is a free moment they take advantage of it to rest and gossip. Boys, on the other hand, have fewer tasks to perform when at the village and so they have considerable free time. Gathering in small groups at the store or wandering about the village is a constant pastime. In part patrolling the village is connected with courting. At times the boys gather and attempt to get drunk by inhaling gas fumes or drinking various lotions or soft drinks with aspirin. These gatherings are rare and the effects may be more imagined than real. As far as is known, the making of home brew is restricted to adults and is rarely engaged in. Card playing, sometimes in conjunction with drinking, is another form of amusement. Girls are said to be involved on occasion, and sexual relations take place. This could not be confirmed but there is no reason to doubt it. Drinking and card playing are sub-rosa affairs since the churches condemn them, in some cases bitterly, and many of the elders in the community have taken these teachings to heart. Ball games were observed on only a few occasions. Interference by Euro-Canadians is resented and for a time all games ceased when a Euro-Canadian attempted to join in the play.

Adolescents in general go around together in groups of two or three, rarely alone. Girls remain in sibling groups and rarely venture far from their homes except when sent to the store or school. Boys go with siblings or with a close neighbor. There is a strong tendency for boys of the same neighborhood to associate neglecting other neighborhoods. The few cases of troubles between teenage boys which were recorded involved boys of different neighborhoods. This, of course, follows the old band divisions. Troubles erupt when the boys are "drinking." In one case a boy attacked another with his fists and in a second a boy employed a knife. The cause of troubles, although never explicitly stated, seem to be rivalries and jealousies over girls.

When boys reach about twenty years of age, they separate as a rule and go around singly until they marry. They appear to have no close friends and even brothers are rarely seen together. This is in strong contrast to the teenage boys, who are often seen walking together with arms about each other. No information was collected which might explain the change. So few cases of brothers of this age exist that the fact they have separated may merely be the result of individual personalities rather than standardized behavior. It might be suggested on the other hand that as boys gain monetary independence they break with others of their own age, no longer wanting to share with them the money they are now earning. This may be one way of evading the duty of sharing which is established when younger. This also accords with the developing independence of the nuclear family.

Until the age of puberty, boys and girls tend to remain separated, each sex conducting its own affairs independently of the other. Only occasionally is a group of children mixed. Sometimes, for instance, a small girl is seen playing marbles with several boys, but always close kin. This pattern of the separation of the sexes continues into adolescence but with one difference. Although each sex performs its own tasks because of the sexual division of labor, there

is now an attempt on the part of the boys and girls to pursue a pattern of courtship and flirting. Boys speak of particular girls as their "girl friends" (ni'nim).¹

Teenage boys are almost continuously wandering about the village. Their major purpose in so doing is to make contact with teenage girls. In this they succeed quite frequently, since the girls are more than favorably inclined and take every opportunity they can to sneak away from home and meet the boys. Several spots in the village which are out of sight of the girls' homes are favorite meeting places. Here several girls and boys gather during the day whenever the weather permits. The same situation takes place after dark. Church is another favorite spot where teenagers can contact one another and flirt during services. Although the sexes are separated on opposite sides of the church, teenagers often sit apart from their parents and conduct their negotiations at long distance.

Although a good deal of prudishness is overtly expressed, courting between adolescents involves considerable sexual freedom. Evidence for this consists of informant's statements, descriptions of the use of love medicines or aphrodisiacs² (ihkwe'-maškihki, literally "woman medicine"), abortions, and menstrual disorders among the teenage girls. One informant recounted how during the winter of 1958-59, a boy smuggled a friend of his into his parents' cabin where he spent the night with the boys' sister. The informant who told this thought it was a great joke since the parents were not aware of what had happened. Illegitimacy occurs but little is ever said about any cases. An informant told of a woman in the village who had had a child before marrying her first husband. The pattern was repeated when the child, a girl, was away at school and had a child just before she in turn was to be married. The number of cases of illegitimacy recorded, whether the mother was unmarried or a widow, indicates that of the present population of the community not less than two percent are illegitimate: it may well be as high as five percent. The fact that girls marry young certainly reduces the rate of illegitimacy. Statements about premarital sex relations indicate that basically there is little concern if a girl becomes pregnant. The girl's parents or other relatives of the mother care for the child. It is stated that although the girl's parents care for the child the father sometimes helps in its support. If the boy becomes aware of the fact he may marry the girl, or her parents may try to get her married. In a case that occurred recently in another community, the parents of the girl did not wish her to marry the father of her child, who was visiting from Weagamow Lake. Instead they attempted to find a family in the father's community who would adopt the child. The case is of interest since it conflicts with informant's statements regarding the care of illegitimate children. In this case the girl was of another community and her parents were trying to send the child back to its father's natal community of Round Lake. It may merely represent the opposition which exists between communities. Another idea of recent introduction tends to color informant's statements, thereby confusing the issue. This is the idea that it is not Christian to have premarital sex relations. It is stated that if a couple do and they then get married, they soon will have troubles. The idea of supernatural retribution, which is an old concept among the Round Lake Ojibwa, fits in neatly.

1. This is the term for female cross-cousin and potential spouse.

2. The word "aphrodisiac" is employed in this report from the point of view of the Round Lake Ojibwa. Whether or not the aphrodisiacs are effective is of no concern here. What is of importance is that the Round Lake Ojibwa believe them to be effective.

The employment of aphrodisiacs is additional evidence of freedom in sex relations. It is not by any means confined to unmarried males, but it seems appropriate to discuss it here. Information as to the exact composition of love medicines could not be ascertained. From scraps of information obtained, the medicines are made from various plants, a concoction being prepared and placed in a small bottle. To attract a woman a few drops of the liquid are placed on a handkerchief which is held to the windward of the girl or may be placed on candy which is then presented to the woman. The odor or taste attracts her and no more need be done. Love medicines are still used and during the summer of 1958 a man made some for several of the boys of the village. The extent to which it is still employed, however, is not known. Many statements refer to the fact that so and so had used it in the past but that he had thrown the medicines away recently. One man, a trusted informant, was said to have been a noted authority on love medicines and when his first wife died many girls pursued him. People often joked with this man regarding his "girl friends," but when this man was questioned on the subject he never admitted that he was particularly familiar with love medicines. Another informant said that he "thought" at least four men had love medicines in their possession, and two of these were noted for their love affairs. Although love medicines are reported to have been made in the village of Round Lake they are also secured from the south where the most powerful shamans are said to live. Cat Lake,¹ Sioux Lookout, and Kenora are said to be places where love medicines have been obtained. One man is reported to have paid \$40.00 for love medicines which he obtained in Sioux Lookout. Another informant said he had been offered love medicine and the recipe for making it by a man in Kenora for \$25.00. The informant said he did not buy the medicine since he did not have that much money at the time. He added that if the medicines hadn't worked he would have wasted a lot of money for nothing.

Techniques for producing an abortion appear to be common knowledge and, further, suggest sexual freedom. Abortion, however, would appear to go against the desire of the Round Lake Ojibwa for children except in the case of unmarried girls who have been influenced by Christian ethics. Very little detailed information on the subject could be elicited. One informant said that if a woman missed her menses she might drink the liquid in which the leaves of ihkwe'-wašk (literally "woman plant") are boiled and would soon menstruate. It may be that this medicine is conceived of as stimulating an abortion although no more information on this point could be obtained from the informant. The name of the plant linked with its use in this type of situation is also of interest. Only one actual case was recorded. During the winter of 1958-59, it was reported that a girl who was having menstrual disorders attempted to produce an abortion by striking herself in the stomach with an axe handle. If she really was pregnant the remedy must have been successful since she did not subsequently give birth. There were four cases out of a possible ten to twelve girls past puberty and unmarried involving menstrual irregularity which occurred at about the same time, February and March, suggesting that there is considerable freedom in sex relations and that some means is known for preventing birth since none of these girls produced a child. No direct information could be gathered as to whether or not these particular girls attempted to prevent the birth of a child. On the other hand in several cases the girls were considerably upset emotionally. One even developing a violent case of hiccoughs which lasted for a number of days. This

1. A woman of this community is reported to have all kinds of medicines.

girl was finally sent to the hospital for treatment. It would appear that these girls may have been pregnant and that in some way an abortion was induced, the total effect of which was temporary menstrual disturbances. One informant thought the number of cases was unusual and that perhaps someone wanted to "harm" the girls. This reference to witchcraft is a common explanation for events which are unusual or disturbing.

The behavior of adolescents, especially boys, is of some concern to the adults of the community. This is true only when the boy in question is not a close kinsman. Several married men who had daughters past puberty deplored the way in which the boys "prowled" about the village. One man who was a regular visitor and was generally accompanied by an older daughter arrived one evening without her. When asked where she was he said that it was cold and the boys were about. He then went on to say that by his house boys were around in groups of three, four, and sometimes more. It certainly does not seem likely that the man actually feared the boys and felt he could not protect his daughter. Rather he may have been afraid his daughter might slip off with the boys. Another man whose daughters frequently came for visits during the evening made various arrangements so that they might make the trip unmolested, although the girls had every indication of a desire to be "caught" by the boys. One attraction was the cigarettes which the boys had to offer and which had been forbidden the girls by their father. The man himself sometimes came to escort his daughters home. Similar situations were encountered during the course of fieldwork. Another informant had even kept his children from going to school and church because of the boys. One man went so far as to tell the boys not to come about his place. One youth, a constant caller at this man's home, was prevented entrance one day. He had never been mentioned as having caused any trouble in the community but the head of the house was tired of all boys. The youth was angry and spoke out regarding the situation saying it was a very bad thing to refuse to admit someone who is making a call. The man finally built a fence about his house, in part to keep the boys away. He even went so far as to speak to the chief, telling him that he had ordered the boys to stay away, and the chief, it was said, agreed that this was proper. The chief himself had ordered some boys to leave a particular home in the village where they congregated, but his words were respected for no more than a few days. The chief also tried to stop boys from gathering at the store but with only limited and temporary success.

The present situation in which adults are outspoken regarding the conduct of teenage boys appears to be a recent development. No information was collected to suggest that adults in the past were worried to any great extent about youths causing trouble and molesting girls. Today, with a great increase in leisure time, adolescent boys can accordingly spend much more time courting girls. It is when boys are continuously wandering through the village that the adults become upset. It may be that with their understanding of conception the casual affair is not necessarily reprehensible, but a prolonged one, the only kind which can result in pregnancy, is different. Here the Christian concept of morality enters. The Round Lake Ojibwa know that if an unmarried girl becomes pregnant she will be criticized by Euro-Canadians for immorality. Accordingly, they become upset when it is apparent that sex relations are increased by the idleness and continual circulation of adolescent boys. Certainly several of the men who were worried about their daughters were reported to be having extramarital relations themselves. On the other hand, a young unmarried man said that the honourable way to court a girl was merely to walk hand in hand with her.

A mixture of conflicting beliefs appears to be colouring the situation.

Adulthood:

From the point of view of the Round Lake Ojibwa a man or woman becomes adult only at marriage. This is reflected in the terminology. A married man is referred to as na'pe' and a married woman ihkwe'. One woman who was thirty-nine but unmarried was still referred to as kihci-oškini'kihkwe' and a man of twenty-nine who had not yet married as kihci-oškini'ki. According to statements by younger informants a change is occurring. Several felt that na'pe' and ihkwe' referred to individuals who were approximately sixteen years of age and older regardless of marital status. This might reflect indoctrination by Euro-Canadians. On the other hand, with the increasing economic independence of youth this change in terminological usage may reflect an alteration in the assumption of the adult role.

Ideally marriages are arranged by the parents or guardians of the young couple. Theoretically, the boy's parents approach the parents of a girl who is nearing the age of marriage. The boy's father may tell the girl's father that the latter can have his son to work for him. The girl's father or parents may say nothing if their daughter is too young but if the match is suitable and she is ready for marriage, negotiations are then carried out. After this step the young man goes to his prospective father-in-law's household and aids him wherever possible, but he does not live with the girl's parents. This may continue for one or two years until the marriage is formalized in a church service. Sometimes the couple may begin to live together even before the marriage ritual is performed. In a case closely observed, after marriage negotiations had been undertaken the young man came practically every evening to his future father-in-law's home and worked about the place, most of the time building a fence. At the same time the boy courted his future wife and they spent considerable time together.

If a boy's father is not living his mother may be the one to initiate the marriage or if neither parent is living the boy's father's brother undertakes the task. If the boy's parents or guardians do not arrange a marriage for him within a reasonable length of time, then the parents of an eligible girl may seek out the boy directly and ask him to marry their daughter. A marriage instituted by the girl's parents, however, certainly does not appear to be the proper procedure. Although informants never said that it was wrong, in cases recorded of this type of marriage arrangement there was generally trouble between the parents of the couple resulting in a feud. In one case an old man approached a boy directly and persuaded him to marry his daughter. The boy's father knew nothing of this until he walked into church and saw the couple being married. The boy's father became incensed at this action and hard feelings between the two families, especially the two fathers, arose. Also the young couple were said to have had trouble because of this. The feeling has lasted to this day. A similar case occurred more recently and similar troubles have already resulted.

A number of factors enter into the choice of a girl by the boy's parents. In the first place kinship must be considered. A boy should not¹ marry the following relatives — no'hkom, ninto'siss, nissikoss, nima'ma, nintawe'ma', ninta'niss, ninto'šimihkwe'm, ninaha'ka'nihkwe'm, and no'siss. The only female relative that a man can marry is ni'nim. The extension to which kinship is carried is of course crucial here. Unfortunately, the boundary between kin

1. This is not to say that cases do not at times occur today.

and non-kin tends to be rather vaguely defined in certain cases. It appears to depend in large measure on the number of relatives living. A man who has no close relatives tends to extend kinship farther than a man with close kin living. A case may make this clear. A man with no close male relatives living went with his wife's sister's husband to hunt and trap since, as the informant stated, he was his ni'cihki'we'si (brother). Technically this accords with the kinship system. On the other hand a man with a number of true brothers living classed his wife's sister's husband as ni'hta'wiss (brother-in-law) and niwa'hkoma'kan (affinal relatives). In another case a man married the widow of his wife's brother. Technically she was his nintawe'ma' but no information was gathered to suggest that his was an incestuous union.¹ The children of the couple by their previous marriages, who had previously referred to each other as sibling's-in-law, now spoke of each other as siblings.

The following statements regarding appropriate marriage partners are accordingly provisional. A man is forbidden to marry his first parallel female cousin, and a second female cousin when she is a descendent of his father's father's brother's son. Second female cousins descended from father's father's sister's son and daughter are, however, eligible for marriage. All third cousins are eligible for marriage. Also a man may marry the female offspring of his second cousins. Accordingly, the grandchildren of brothers recognize each other as kinsmen (affinal or consanguinal) but not the grandchildren of a brother and sister.

Among those women whom a man lists as relatives only ni'nim ("sister-in-law") is a potential spouse. Since this girl is a cross-cousin the question of this type of marriage among the Round Lake Ojibwa is raised. Is it prescribed, preferred, or due merely to chance (i.e. permitted) because of the few women available for marriage? Data on this point are confusing. A Bearskin informant merely laughed when questioned and said that cross-cousins were not preferred marriage partners. A second informant, younger than the first and living on the boundary between Bearskin and Round Lake communities, said that at Bearskin "cousins married lots of times." A third informant from Weagamow Lake said that a man always tried first to find his son's ni'nim for a wife for his son. He then went on to describe two recent tentative arrangements that had been made, in one of which a man approached his sister's husband and in the other a man approached his wife's brother in order to obtain wives for their sons. When the arrangements were proposed the boys involved were between fourteen and sixteen years old and the girls several years younger. The implication appears to be that cross-cousin marriage is preferred but not prescribed. This is also further substantiated by the number of cousin marriages existing at present. Of the forty-one couples living in the community today, four are first cross-cousin marriages and three are second cross-cousin marriages (Table 18). In those cousin marriages listed as "terminological" the relationship is established through a step-parent. This gives a total of thirteen cross-cousin marriages of all degrees. Preferred cross-cousin marriage (or permitted cross-cousin marriage) appears to be an eminently practical solution to the small population size of the community. If cross-cousin marriage were prohibited, there would be a smaller number of women available as spouses considering the degree to which kinship is extended, and yet if cross-cousin marriage were prescribed, a man would

1. The situation, it must be remembered, has been considerably affected by Euro-Canadian missionaries who have no conception of the intricacies of the kinship system and unknowingly marry those in the forbidden classes.

be prevented from marrying if he had no cross-cousins.

TABLE 18

Number and Relationship of Spouses in which Both are Living,
Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958

Relationship of Spouses	1st	2nd	3rd	Total
Cross-Cousin	4	3	0	7
Parallel Cousin	0	2	1	3
Terminological Cross-Cousin				6
Distant Relative (?)				4
No Known Kin Relationship				21
Total				41

Another factor has further confused the problem of selecting the appropriate marriage partner. The Round Lake Ojibwa insist and firmly believe that Euro-Canadian doctors have told them that it is "not good to marry close friends or relatives since their blood is the same and not good to mix."¹ The doctors' dictum as understood by the Round Lake Ojibwa, has had unfortunate results. With the extension of kin terms to distant relatives, as the Round Lake Ojibwa conceive of their kinship system, individuals in the forbidden class do sometimes marry because of interference by Euro-Canadian missionaries who base their understanding of appropriate marriage partners on church and Canadian law. This is wrong according to the native system but is now doubly wrong because of what they believe the doctors have said: the missionaries perform the marriages and the doctors are silent, apparently approving the unions. Obviously the doctors meant "close blood relatives", but this was translated to mean "any sort of relative including friends." The Round Lake Ojibwa are now thoroughly confused and cannot understand what constitutes the true situation.

Besides kinship there are several other factors which determine the choice of a spouse. The boy's parents look for a girl who is healthy and of sound mind. One woman in the village who is in her early thirties was pointed out as ineligible for marriage because she was mentally deficient. A quiet girl is desired. One young girl was said to talk a great deal and it was suggested she might have difficulty in getting married. In addition, a girl who is industrious and does "nice work" is greatly desired. In some cases the reputation of the girl's father is such that she may find it difficult to get a husband. There is one unmarried woman of thirty-nine who from all appearances would make a good wife. One informant, when asked the reason for her not being married, declared it was because of her father, who had a tendency to be a trouble maker. No other family wished to make a marriage alliance with his family. Her father was worried because she was not yet married but could do nothing about the situation. Fur-

1. Informants contend that it was the doctors who prohibited marriage with the relatives previously listed as in the forbidden marriage class. One informant, a highly intelligent man, claimed most emphatically that formerly men co-habited with all those females listed. He went on to cite a case of incest between a man and his daughter to prove his point. Today according to this informant the only proper marriage partner is ni'nim. It is, however, inconceivable that cross-cousin marriage is a recent development among the Round Lake Ojibwa.

thermore, if a girl is asked for in marriage a number of times but on each occasion the union for any reason fails to materialize, her chances of marriage decrease. Finally, the number of eligible girls a family has to pick from is extremely limited. There are only fourteen unmarried girls fifteen years of age and older and five widows under the age of forty-five. Of these nineteen women, most would be in the prohibited marriage class for most men. When questioned as to their relationship to these girls, several unmarried young men named half or more as relatives whom they could not marry. They said regarding most of the remaining girls that they had heard their parents say that they stood in a particular relation to these girls and therefore could not marry them, although the boys themselves were unfamiliar with the actual geneological connection. In the final analysis it may happen that a man may find no more than two or three girls (sometimes none) his son can marry in the entire community. Furthermore, informants state that one must make very sure today that the marriage is the right one, since a license is needed and the Government doesn't want the couple to have any trouble.

To all intents and purposes marriages are endogamous (Table 19) from the point of view of the community. Of the 104 Round Lake Ojibwa men and women who were or had been married and were still living in 1958-59 only six were from surrounding communities.

TABLE 19

Present Exogamous and Endogamous Marriages among the Round Lake Ojibwa
1958-1959

	<u>Exogamous Marriages</u>		<u>Endogamous Marriages</u>
	<u>Round Lake Ojibwa</u>	<u>Foreigners</u>	
	Reside natal community	Reside in foreign community	
Men	4	5	39
Women	2	4	53
Totals	6	9	92

One man had come to Weagamow Lake as a boy when his mother married and settled there. When he grew up he married a girl from the community. The second male immigrant arrived in 1958. A good many years before he had married a woman from Weagamow Lake and they have now returned. He is suffering from Parkinson's disease and could do no work. His wife has numerous relatives in the village. In the case of women immigrants, one (now deceased) married into the community and brought her daughter with her, who later married a Round Lake Ojibwa man. Two other women, now widows, came from other communities and married Round Lake men. They still reside in the village. In the final case, although the woman is from Bearskin the marriage might not be considered strictly exogamous because the husband at times acts as a member of her community rather than Round Lake, his trapping area lying on the boundary between the two communities. Excluding the doubtful case above and cases where young children were brought to Weagamow Lake, grew up and married there, only three

women and one man can be thought of as participants in strictly exogamous marriages.¹

Few Round Lake Ojibwa men and women married and left the community to become permanent members of their spouses' communities. Two men married women from MacDowell Lake and settled there, one married and settled at Deer Lake, another at Cat Lake, and finally one man married a woman from Trout Lake and, according to several informants, is living there. Four women have married and left the community.

Depending on the point of view, endogamy has either decreased or perhaps increased slightly from former days. In the past each band tended to be endogamous in so far as possible, but now that they live in the same village there has been a slight increase in intermarriage between them (i.e. the neighbourhoods). On the other hand, in the past, intermarriage with bands other than those in the area of Round Lake was perhaps somewhat greater than it is today. At present the community has become more endogamous; less frequently do members marry into other communities. One informant, however, said that it was good to marry a person from another community such as Big Trout, Bearskin, Sachigo, Big Beaverhouse, and Sioux Lookout. This is of interest since he named the northern and eastern communities with which the Round Lake Ojibwa are on relatively friendly terms, omitting mention of those communities to the south (with the exception of Sioux Lookout) and west which are regarded with some hostility. Marriage outside the community may merely represent a Euro-Canadian idea since this same informant added that the Government said that they should do so. In the past, according to him, the people only occasionally married outside the band.

Residence appears to be variable, although one informant claimed that when inter-community marriages occurred the woman moved to her husband's community. This is probably the ideal but actual cases only in part conform to this pattern. Five out of forty-eight men who were originally Round Lake Ojibwa, took up residence in the wife's community and two foreign men took up residence in the wife's community and have become Round Lake Ojibwa. Individual circumstances tend to determine the place of residence.

A change has occurred which is of some importance. Informants contend that formerly marriages with Euro-Canadians were considered desirable, but that today this is not the case. This, along with other evidence, accords with the developing confusion regarding Euro-Canadians and their policies and the emergence of hostile feelings directed against the Euro-Canadians and the development of an endogamous caste structure at Round Lake.

The above information might suggest that in part the arrangement of marriages was merely a matter of eliminating the impossible and choosing from among the few possible mates. The situation is not as easy as this. A few of the problems that may arise have been mentioned in passing. A few actual cases may help to show the type of situations which occur.

During the period of fieldwork an informant (X in the following case) was at times very upset and confused as to what he should do regarding the marriage of a daughter.

About a year ago X received a letter from Y, who lives in another community. Y wanted to obtain the eldest daughter of X as a wife for his son and asked X to send his oldest daughter to him. Y also stated that his son was a "hard
1. There are other immigrants to the community of Round Lake consisting of two families, but all spouses are from other communities.

boy," but did not elaborate on this. Nevertheless, the meaning was clear. Y's son had been involved in trouble and, accordingly, X was afraid the marriage might not be a success. He wrote Y to this effect. Several months later X visited Y's community and Y's son asked him if he might come to Weagamow Lake for a visit. This was agreed to and Y's son came and stayed with X and his family. X said Y's son was a "loud" but nice boy. Y's son wanted to marry X's eldest daughter right away. X and Y's son discussed the matter but X would not commit himself. During his visit Y's son began courting a younger daughter of X and they could be observed walking about hand in hand. After a few weeks Y's son returned home. He never wrote X or X's daughter. X was upset about this and felt that Y's son wasn't really interested and had found someone else. Then about six months later X was approached by Z, a Round Lake man, and his wife who wished to arrange a marriage between their son and X's eldest daughter. The parents talked the matter over. X felt that they should wait for a year or so, for several reasons. First his daughter was only 17 and the doctors had said that it was not good to start having children before a girl was about 18. It would weaken the girl if she did. Furthermore X's daughter was to go to summer school and then work outside during the winter. Finally, X was not absolutely sure how Z's son would work out. There was some suggestion that Z's son when working outside spent all his money in the beer parlors. As far as X was concerned frequenting beer parlors was all right once in awhile but should be limited. It would be better if Z's son were to stay in the village of Round Lake and trap. First, therefore, Z's son must prove himself in the eyes of X. X had not yet discussed the matter in detail with Z's son, but the latter had said he would help X whenever he could. This Z's son continued to do until the end of fieldwork.

After Z had opened negotiations with X, X received a letter from a Euro-Canadian on behalf of Y asking again that X send his daughter out immediately to marry Y's son and stating that Y would pay all expenses. The letter added that Y's son had a job and had settled down. X was now in some confusion as to what to do. He hastily wrote a letter to the Euro-Canadian stating the present situation. No more was heard from Y as far as is known and the proposed marriage between X's daughter and Z's son is still in effect.

Another case occurred recently in which a certain amount of hard feeling developed among the various interested parties. One summer A, an elderly man, or his wife (the interpreter was not clear on this point) approached B., a young man whose father was dead but whose mother was living. A wanted B to marry his daughter. B said nothing. A approached B again at Christmas time and on this occasion B agreed to marry A's daughter the following summer. The young couple then went to the missionary and gave him their names.

As the time for the marriage approached B's mother became dissatisfied, or perhaps began to show her dissatisfaction. B himself did not appear very enthusiastic about the forthcoming marriage. Before long his mother was definitely against the marriage. A was considered something of a trouble maker and in the past had had trouble in connection with the marriages of other daughters. As far as B was concerned there was nothing that could be done now to stop the marriage since he and A's daughter had given their names to the missionary.

That summer the marriage took place. Near the close of the ceremony B's mother tried to stop the marriage but it was too late as they had already been pronounced man and wife. Nevertheless, this did not end the troubles. Discussion continued and other members of B's kin became involved, especially

C, the half-brother of B's mother. In the meantime B set up his own household but life did not continue quite as usual. B's mother refused to allow her son to use her canoe any more. This was a blow to B. He had no canoe of his own at the village and had borrowed his mother's with which to conduct commercial fishing. Furthermore, he was getting ready to return to his trapping territory for the winter. He planned to fly and had chartered a plane but at the last minute the airlines refused to move him because of other commitments. With no canoe he was in a bad position. Finally, he was able to fly with another company and escape his mother and the problems facing him in the village. He had not in the past nor after his marriage associated with A, his father-in-law. As B himself said, he would not at present help his parents-in-law, but later if the marriage worked out all right, he would aid them: nor did he expect his father-in-law to aid him at this time.

The winter passed but not without talk of the troubles facing B. He and his wife returned to the village for a short time at Christmas and then in the spring he made a quick visit to see his mother. That was the last time he returned to Weagamow Lake, not even returning for Treaty in June.

C (The half-brother of B's mother) continued to be extremely upset by the whole affair since from his point of view incest had been committed, and in addition he resented the improper way in which the marriage arrangements had been conducted. Incest resulted because of the following kin relationships. C was married to a daughter of A's, and now B was married to a daughter of A's. C said this should make the two men (B and C) ni'hta'wiss ("brothers-in-law").¹ But B was the son of A's nintawe'ma' ("sister"- actually a half-sister since they had the same father but different mothers) and accordingly had always been C's nininkwan ("son-in-law"). How could C now consider B his ni'hta'wiss? If he did, then B's mother became C's nisikoss ("mother-in-law") which was clearly impossible. Nevertheless from C's point of view, if he still considered B his nininkwan, B had married his nisikoss ("mother-in-law") and this of course was not right. In addition B's wife should be C's ninto'shimikwe'm ("brother's-daughter"). If this was so, since she was a sister of C's wife, the latter was C's ninto'shimikwe'm with the result that C himself was committing incest. Finally, because of the confusion as to proper relationships C was bewildered as to what he would call B's children. C continued to discuss the problem but could see no way in which it could be resolved. He felt that the marriage was wrong but he did not openly blame anyone. Others spoke guardedly of the "stupidity" of the Euro-Canadians who allowed such a situation to arise because of their lack of concern for the kinship system of the Round Lake Ojibwa.

This was the situation as C saw it. But A saw it from a different point of view. A's wife and B's father were terminological brother and sister. Therefore the marriage of A's daughter to B was a perfectly normal affair since they were terminological cross-cousins.

B could choose either side he wanted from a kinship point of view but strong pressures were brought to bear on him to side with his mother and her relatives since his father and relations were no longer living. He evaded the problem to a certain extent by leaving the community. As spring approached B's mother and other members of the community were still upset about the situation. She had not wanted B to marry this girl in the first place because she knew (post hoc

1. Theoretically this is not correct. B should become C's ni'cihki'we'si ("brother") but C always referred to the husbands of his wife's sisters as ni'hta'wiss.

reasoning?) there would be trouble. Now there was trouble and she feared that B would not long have a wife. She would soon die. A man (or perhaps several men) in either one of two other communities had wanted B to marry a daughter of his. Now the rejected father-in-law was causing trouble for B. B had become thin and did not look well. Furthermore, B's wife had stiff joints and trouble walking. She also had some sort of sickness in her stomach.¹ B's mother felt that witchcraft was being practiced against B and his wife in revenge for marrying A's daughter rather than the daughter of the other men. Fieldwork ceased before the outcome of this case could be witnessed.

The constant fear of witchcraft, as in the above case, is a matter of some concern to the Round Lake Ojibwa and pervades all aspects of their life and interpersonal relations.² The above situation is not unique. Another case was recounted which occurred approximately twenty years ago and, although it happened in a community just north of Weagamow Lake, is worth recounting here. M, a young man, was approached by N who had a daughter he wanted M to marry. M had no father living but discussed the matter with his no'hkomiss who said he could do as he pleased and that he would not interfere. Next, O, another old man, approached M and asked him to marry his daughter. M didn't know what to do. M's ni'hta'wiss (M's sister's husband) came to him and they talked all night. M's ni'hta'wiss advised him to marry O's daughter, but M objected since he feared both men because of their religious power. His ni'hta'wiss said he knew O and that this man was a mite'na'pe and more powerful than N. It would be best therefore to marry O's daughter. This M did shortly thereafter. Immediately after the marriage M had troubles which he attributed to witchcraft directed against him by N for not marrying his daughter. The trouble seems to have ended within a year and as far as is known M has not been bothered by N since.

Although the arrangement of marriages may be fraught with difficulties boys and girls marry at a relatively young age. Only thirty-seven cases, spanning a period of about twenty years, are recorded in which the age of the individual is known (Table 20). Boys at marriage range in age from sixteen to twenty-eight and girls from fourteen to twenty-six. The average age at marriage for the boys is 21.7 years old and for girls 16.7 years old.

TABLE 20
Number of Males and Females and the Ages at which they Married,
Round Lake Ojibwa, 1938-1958

	Age of Marriage														
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Males			1		1	5	1	1	3	1	3				1
Females	4	5	3	2	2	2		1					1		

With such a small population as the Round Lake Ojibwa possess, few marriages are contracted in any one year. Since 1938, eighteen marriage ceremonies are recorded as having been performed at Weagamow Lake or in the vicinity (Table 21). Others may have occurred but there is no record.

1. She was probably pregnant.
2. See Feuding under Religion p.D30.

TABLE 21
Number of Marriages by Year, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1938-1958

	Y e a r																				
	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58
Number of Marriages	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	3	2	0	3	0	1	0	1

As might be expected on the basis of the difference in age of the two sexes at marriage, there is an age difference between a man and his wife of 5.3 years, the husband being the older of the two. Relative ages of husband-wife range from one case of a man thirty-two years older than his wife to one in which a man is eleven years younger than his wife. In fifty-one cases recorded there are forty in which the husband is older than his wife, three in which he is the same age as his wife, and in eight cases he is younger than his wife. Although the cases are few it appears that the greater the age differential between spouses, the greater is the chance that one is a widower or widow. If the man is a great deal older than his wife, he is likely to have been a widower. If the woman is older, she is frequently a former widow.

Today the marriage ceremony is performed by the Anglican missionary. When the missionary pays a visit to the village of Round Lake, the young couple tell him of their desire to get married. If they are of age nothing more need be done by the missionary except to publish the banns and set the date for the wedding. If one or both are not of age the consent of the parents must first be obtained. Since the parents are vitally concerned in the marriage of their children there are occasions when trouble arises in this contact situation. Even though the couple are of age the parents may not sanction the marriage, but there is now nothing they can do to prevent it. As far as Euro-Canadians are concerned the parents have no right to oppose such a union. On the other hand there are times when the parents want the marriage to be performed but one of the young people objects. Again the Euro-Canadian upholds the rights of the young people in opposition to their parents especially if one of the couple is not of age. When cases such as these occur, even though they are infrequent, they bring discord and confusion to those members of the community involved. The performing of marriages in this manner has a tendency to undermine the authority of parents over their children.

After the arrangements have been made with the missionary for the marriage, the young couple must wait until his next visit to the village. At that time the ritual is performed. This is a very simple affair and at the only one witnessed no preparations had been made by either the couple or their parents. They arrived in every day garb, went through the rite, and then returned to their work. No dance or feast was given.

After the young couple are married they set up their own household.¹ Their place of residence depends on several factors and may alter according to the seasons (Table 22).² Ideally, residence is virolocal, a man establishing his household in close proximity to that of his father or brother, both at the village and winter camp. At present there is a high degree of neolocal residence which

1. See Household in Social Organization p.666.

2. The change in type of residence between the village and the winter camps does not seem to be to great enough to be significant. In general a man who lives near his father in the village does so during the winter whether in the village or in the bush.

has probably increased during the past twenty to thirty years. On the basis of informants statements it would appear that neolocal residence was formerly limited. The large number of cases of neolocal residence today appears to be related to the increase in the independence of the nuclear family stimulated by the introduction of a Canadian money economy.

TABLE 22

Number of Cases of Particular Types of Residence by Season
Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Type of Residence	Time of Year	
	Summer (Village)	Winter
Neolocal*	21 (6 no other choice)	28 (8 no other choice)\$
Virolocal	13 (3 no affinal kin)#	9 (3 no affinal kin)#
Uxorolocal	7 (3 no consanguinal kin)%	4 (3 no consanguinal kin)%

* Neolocal means that a man's home is not directly adjacent to either father's, brother's, father-in-law's, or brother-in-law's home. Virolocal means that Ego's home is adjacent to that of his father or brother. Uxorolocal means that Ego lives beside his father-in-law or brother-in-law. The kin terms employed here are used in the restricted sense. Brother is full or half-brother, father-in-law refers only to wife's father, and brother-in-law only to wife's brother. # Affinal here refers only to father-in-law and brother-in-law. % Consanguinal here refers only to father and brother. \$ The increase in "no other choice" is due to the fact that of two brothers one works in the Hudson's Bay Company store all year. Therefore, during the winter they have no choice but to separate if the second brother wishes to trap. Nevertheless they do not live near each other during the summer.

Marriage initiates the establishment of a new household which soon increases in size. The first child is born on the average at the end of approximately twenty months. From then on children are born at the rate of approximately one every thirty-five months, on the basis of 108 cases. This is the time interval if the preceding child lives. If it dies within the first year, a second child is born in about twenty months. From this it can be seen that family size should be rather large. In the past, infant mortality was high, thereby reducing the size of the family. Today, on the other hand, few infants die and family size can be larger (Table 23). Of thirteen children born during the course of fieldwork only one died. There were no deaths among children who were under a year of age at the beginning of fieldwork.

Ten women past menopause for whom there is relatively complete data produced an average of about five or six children each (Table 24). This is probably too low since infants who die shortly after birth are generally forgotten and cases of abortion and stillbirth are never mentioned. There is no indication, however, of infanticide.

Although the sample is somewhat small there is a slight tendency for more infants to be born in February than any other month and the fewest during November (Table 25). Conception therefore takes place most frequently during the late spring and early summer and may in part correlate with the holiday spirit at this time of year and the release from the relative hardship of winter.

The relationship between a man and his wife and their relations with their children have already been discussed¹ and need not be repeated here. Suffice to say that in general the family forms a closely knit group and is the major

1. See Kinship in Social Organization pB15 & pB25.

TABLE 23
Number of Children and Age of Mother, Round Lake Ojibwa 1958

Age of Mother	Number of Children per Woman								
	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
39	1	1			1				
38			1	1	1				
35	1								
33	1								
32					1		1		
31	1						1		
29			1						
28			1						
26							1		
23					1				
22							1		1
21								1	
20								2	1

economic unit in the community. At marriage each partner becomes a fully participating member of the community and now assumes an adult role. The husband is expected to support his family in so far as possible and his wife renders him aid and assistance wherever prescribed. The adult roles of men and women are detailed elsewhere in this work and need be only mentioned here. Basically the man is expected to be a hunter, trapper, fisherman (primarily commercial), and wage labourer. He may elect to strive for the position of native preacher, chief, councilman or store clerk. A man holding any one of these positions is

TABLE 24
Number of Children Born to Women now Past Menopause,
Round Lake Ojibwa 1958

Number of Women Past Menopause	Number of Children									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	1	2	2

spoken of as *kihci-na'pe'* regardless of his age.¹ No other positions are open to him. A wife, on the other hand, has even less choice. She is expected to care for the home and family, dress furs and fish, and in general follow the lead of her spouse.

TABLE 25
Number of Cases of Births and Conceptions by Month, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958

Number of Cases	Month of Birth											
	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
	29	38	31	23	31	28	21	28	21	26	20	24

1. The term is also employed for relatively old men.

As stated previously, separation and divorce are today no longer possible, since they are not sanctioned by those Euro-Canadians who exercise power and authority over the Round Lake Ojibwa. Although a couple cannot separate and establish independent households, several cases suggest that a man and his wife, while they continue to occupy the same household, may not in effect constitute a functioning family. If it were not for Euro-Canadians these couples would probably have separated permanently and established stable marriages with other spouses.

Although divorce and separation do not occur, deaths are relatively frequent and men and women find themselves widowers or widows. At the time of fieldwork there were eighteen widows ranging in age from twenty-two to eighty and four widowers ranging in age from twenty-nine to fifty-nine. In general, it is the older individuals who are without spouses.¹ Of the twenty-two cases seventeen individuals are over the age of forty-four. Widowers remain in their households until they remarry. A young widow ideally returns to her father's home unless the Government dictates otherwise. Older widows often live with a married son. Only one widow lives alone.

Widowers and young widows frequently remarry, but not the older widows. The fact that some widows do not remarry is in part a new development. Several reasons are advanced by Round Lake Ojibwa to explain why widows of child bearing age may not remarry. If the woman previously had trouble with her husband then she is felt to be a poor risk for a second marriage. Alternatively the woman herself may not wish to remarry since she may fear that her next husband will not treat her correctly and raise her first children properly. She may prefer to raise her children herself. Finally, it is stated that widows do not remarry because if they did they would lose their widow's allowance, which in some cases amounts to more than a husband can earn. Probably all three explanations are valid in one way or another. The fact that widows hold a rather unique position in the community may also be an explanation. They are first and foremost objects of free sexual attention. Most widows under the age of fifty-five have a lover or a series of lovers. In all authenticated cases of adultery on the part of married men, the woman involved was a widow or unmarried girl. Although it is quite probable that cases occurred in which the woman had a husband living, the affair was kept strictly sub rosa. One unmarried man was reported to have been having an affair with a married woman, but in general unmarried men directed their attentions toward the unmarried girls. Widows, besides being sexual partners, also perform another important role in community affairs. Only they can tend the corpse and prepare it for burial.

There is no set period, according to informants, before a widow or widower can remarry. Accordingly, there is no standard period of mourning. If the surviving spouse has many children and is in need of a partner to aid him or her then remarriage may take place in less than a year. On the other hand, a number of years may elapse before remarriage. Cases are too few to suggest more than that a wide range is permissible. Four widowers remarried after the following lapses of time: nine months, ten months, three years, and four years. One widow remarried at the end of one year, another after seven years. In 1958 there was one widower who had not remarried at the end of two years and another six years. In the case of three widows, one had not remarried at the end of one year, one at the end of three years, and another at the end of five years.

1. See Table 13 under Population p.B8.

Arrangements for the remarriage of widows and widowers are usually made through the chief or a native preacher. Occasionally if a widower is an older man he may deal directly with the woman he wishes to marry. If the widow is approached directly, she should consult with her brother(s) before remarrying. A case of this nature occurred during the period of fieldwork. A man from another community sent word by a Round Lake Ojibwa man to a widow of the village that he wanted to marry her. She did not reply. Later she became sick and at the same time every night footsteps were heard in the vicinity of her home. The people were sure these were not made by any of the youths of the community on their nightly prowls. The man who wanted to marry her was sending her trouble for not complying with his wishes. Several people expressed their uneasiness regarding the situation but nothing more happened. If a widower got along well with his parents-in-law and with his previous wife, he will be given her sister (if one is available) in marriage. Several marriages of this nature have occurred and are spoken of as the ideal way for a widower to obtain a second wife. An ideal marriage for a widow is said to be with her deceased husband's brother, but no cases were recorded. It must be remembered that the chance of having an available mate in these categories (i.e. deceased husband's brother or deceased wife's sister) is rather slight. Of the five youngest widows who are not yet remarried, only one has a deceased husband's brother who is available as a marriage partner. In this case, the family of the widow and that of the young man are feuding, rendering the chances of a marriage slight. The young man contends, though, that he can not marry her because she now has a "boy friend" and is soon to be married.

Old Age:

Men and women move gradually into the period of old age. There is no ritual or event which marks the transition. Years and a diminution of physical ability tend to delimit this period. Old men with many, perhaps ten, grandchildren are referred to as kihci'yaha' or nimiššo'm while very old men and women who have turned grey and have many, perhaps twenty, grandchildren are referred to as kihci-nimiššo'm and kihci-ko'hkominan respectively out of deference. Advancement to this stage does not lower the status of the individual, especially men. In general elders are loved and respected. One old man was referred to by one informant as the "finest man I ever knew." Other informants were of the same opinion. Elders are listened to in silence no matter what they may have to say. No one interrupts. Special gifts are sent to elders. Old women are honoured, for instance, with a gift of a beaver fetus, which is considered a delicacy.

Elders are generally cared for by their own children or daughter-in-law. An unmarried daughter will do the greatest amount of physical work about the home while her elderly mother (or mother-in-law in the case of a married woman whose husband's mother is living with them) advises and aids her where possible. The daughter draws water, washes the dishes, does laundry, saws and splits the firewood, tends the fire, and does much of the cooking. A daughter or son may carry goods home from the store for an aged mother. Nevertheless, the mother, no matter how old, is still in charge of the woman's sphere of the household. A son cares for his father but in this case there are not as many things he can do for his father as a daughter for her mother. A son sometimes breaks a trail during winter so that his father can more easily set traps, but in general their spheres of work tend to be distinct and each performs his own allotted tasks. Although a son will on occasion tend the fish nets for his family, he is engaged mostly in hunting, trapping, or other tasks which are too far away from camp and

too strenuous for his father to accompany him. His father restricts his movements and works in and about the confines of the camp. Nevertheless, the elder male has complete authority over the camp members. A son also sees that his mother is adequately cared for, generally by delegating this duty to his wife or children.

Although the above might suggest that elders have little to do, this is not the case. Men remain active as a rule until they die, unless afflicted with some illness. They continue to perform many of the tasks they did as younger men but at a greatly reduced rate. Old men do some trapping, but little if any big game hunting. They snare hares and hunt small game such as birds. They set and tend fish nets. The gathering of firewood they leave to those younger and stronger than themselves. Elderly men make many of the wooden items of material culture. They make snowshoe frames, ice scoops, shovels, and canoe paddles for their families and occasionally for others. The making of snowshoe frames, although possible for all adult men, seems to be a particular specialty of two old men of the village. These men were the only ones ever to be seen making snowshoe frames. Elderly women carry on the same tasks as formerly although generally they have less to do. In contrast to men their physical weakening with age does not prevent them from conducting most of the tasks they did as younger women. Although men and women decline physically, an elderly couple of seventy-two thought nothing of leaving in the fall of 1958 to paddle and portage the forty-five miles to their winter camp with no one along to aid them.

Although all males of the Round Lake community tend to be defensive of their rights, touchy, and at odds with their neighbours, old men become even more inclined in this direction. Younger men are less likely than older men to discuss their problems and troubles. An old man will become obsessed with some wrong either assumed or real that has been committed against him and dwell on this topic to the annoyance of other younger members of the household. Elderly women may also be of this nature but no direct evidence was collected on this point. In general, it appears that women are not as likely to become involved in long lasting and bitter disputes as Round Lake men.

Death:

Death, like sex, is of major concern to the Round Lake Ojibwa. It is a topic which is not frequently mentioned, but when it is, great emotion is shown. Suicide is thought to be the most upsetting type of death for the survivors to bear. While this is certainly true, the death of children, especially boys, from whatever cause is equally upsetting. Men who are generally jovial become sombre when they speak of their children who have died. One young man was morbidly fascinated with death. On frequent occasions he mentioned it saying that perhaps he would soon be dead. The subject might be mentioned on the most trivial occasions. Once he spoke of a toothache he had and said that that probably would not kill him. Yet, he was a perfectly healthy individual. He was, however, considerably upset by the contact situation. Sometimes a person "knows", often by means of dreams, when and how he will die.¹

Deaths are assigned to either one of two causes - natural and those attributed to witchcraft. Any death surrounded by mysterious circumstances is attributed to witchcraft. Even a suicide may fall in this class. One sign of death by witchcraft is that the tongue of the deceased is missing. Strangely,

1. See Prophecy under Religion of a description of dreams received just before death p.D33.

the younger a person is, as a rule, the greater are the chances that his death is attributed to natural causes. The older a person is, on the other hand, the greater the likelihood that his death is thought to have been caused by witchcraft, although it is possible that this may not apply in the case of very old people.

The feeling surrounding the death of new babies is not very emotionally charged. It appears to be taken as the normal lot of man. On the other hand the death of a child a few years old, especially if it is a boy, is taken extremely seriously. One informant vividly recounted the death of his first son. When the boy died both he and his wife were greatly upset. The boy had been healthy, then caught a cold and three days later died. His wife became "unconscious." The father at first did not want his son buried. He told his "cousin" this when he came to see about burial arrangements. The informant said he wanted to do everything himself and to be with his son as much as possible. When he decided that burial must take place he had a woman wash the body and supervise him while he sewed up the corpse (in a shroud?) and fixed a coffin. Funeral services were held in the church but he said he was too distraught to go to the cemetery. Two men helped him home as he could hardly walk. The informant told his story with great emotion and at times appeared to be on the verge of crying. Yet his son had died over ten years ago. The informant said that after his son had been buried he continued to be greatly disturbed. A neighbour came to him and tried to ease his suffering. The visitor told him it was hard to have girls and then finally have a son who soon died, but if one kept trying then eventually another boy would be born. This eased his suffering somewhat. The death of older individuals is taken almost as hard as the death of children by all close relatives and certain other members of the community.

The actual causes of death are not the concern of this paper. What is of importance is the people's attitudes and interpretation of it. Their fear of witchcraft affects their ideas regarding its causes, and this appears to be just as strong today as it was in the past. In most cases of death, witchcraft is eventually invoked as an explanation, although outwardly they may at first state that the death is due to natural causes. If for any reason witchcraft does not seem to account for the death, informants may add, mostly by implication, that murder has been committed either by other Ojibwa or by Euro-Canadians. A case considered to be murder was only touched upon by one informant under conditions of absolute privacy. He was a highly trusted informant but the implications of what he said are not entirely clear. Other informants never categorically denied the possibility of murder, but would never give any concrete information

A case of suicide (nissitise: "he kills himself" or ako'nitiso, "he hangs himself"), which occurred during the course of fieldwork, the only instance of a death aside from that of an infant, may help to clarify some of the above statements. The victim, a married man and not very old, hanged himself at his winter camp. When news of the event reached the village his close relatives, and others to a lesser extent, showed great emotion. For the first few days afterwards, the deceased's brother wandered about staring absently, never smiling, and shaking visibly. The man's mother was even more noticeably upset than his brother, even weeping slightly. The first night after learning of her son's death, she kept the whole household awake because of her distressed condition. No mention was made by any member of the family as to why the man had committed suicide. One informant said that when the dead man's brother was feeling better he would tell the people the cause of it. The man's name was not mentioned in conversation until some time after the death. Instead the man was always re-

ferred to as "so and so's brother" or as "the man who hanged himself."

At first no explanation was given for the suicide. Soon it was suggested that the man had hanged himself because he was depressed. It was said by informants that the man had been in jail and that this was hard, and the food bad. The fact of having been in jail, it was implied, had preyed on his mind until he had killed himself.¹ To bolster their argument, informants referred to another recent case of suicide. In this case the man had just returned from jail and had no job. He was threatened with jail again and as a result committed suicide. Whatever the truth of these assertions may be they do indicate on the part of the Round Lake Ojibwa their fear of jails, policemen, and Canadian law and their latent hostility toward the Euro-Canadian.

About a month later a new interpretation was offered of the suicide. The informant who gave this was quite concerned over the death. He felt there might have been trouble (i.e. witchcraft).² When the body was found it was suspended by only a small cord passing under the chin. It was not tied about the neck. The informant did not think that a cord fixed in this way could have caused death. It was added that right after the man hanged himself a hare approached the house where his widow was staying. The hare was not afraid and she killed it. It was very strange that the hare was not afraid. The informant could not adequately explain this, and it was of great concern to him. The informant also thought it strange that two of the surviving brothers had now separated. There must have been trouble somewhere. Perhaps, therefore, a "bad man" had killed him. Yet at the same time the informant knew of no enemies of this man, nor had any strange tracks been seen about the place. Nevertheless the informant's father had also suggested to him that it might have been the work of a mite-na'pe'. The informant simply did not know how it happened, and finally suggested that perhaps the man had gone out of his mind temporarily. The informant's brother had done this just before he died. His spirit (ahca'hk) had left him and he was unconscious.

The fear of witchcraft seems clear and is indicated in other cases of deaths reported. Witchcraft as an explanation is brought forward after the death has been fully discussed and all the strange events surrounding the event have had time to be remembered (and elaborated?), and told by all those in the vicinity. Then a case for witchcraft is usually established.

The idea that witchcraft is the cause of death is further strengthened by the following statements about the same case of suicide. A different informant said that both he and his father-in-law had dreams the night after the community had been notified that a hanging had occurred. The man's father-in-law had a dream in which he was attacked by an animal but he was able to throw the animal into a snowbank and therefore the situation was not too bad. If he had not been able to cast the animal aside then it would have meant bad luck. The informant did not elaborate but merely said he had had a dream of premonition of the same type. He and his father-in-law discussed the matter. It was an evil "cloud" or "substance" that had followed the deceased man's brother back to the village from the south. Apparently the evil in this case had been unable to do further harm.

There is another factor that enters into this case. It was implied rather than explicitly stated by a member of the family that the suicide was a form of

1. There is no evidence that his man had ever been in jail although he had been fined for at least one offense in the past.
2. See Employment of Power in Religion p.D10.

punishment inflicted on the family.¹ The man's mother had remarried without consulting her brothers and now they had all sorts of troubles, the suicide being merely one of many. Witchcraft, supernatural retribution, and fear and hostility towards Euro-Canadians become inextricable inter-woven in determining an explanation for this suicide.

Suicide is not common among the Round Lake Ojibwa and surrounding communities. The Round Lake Ojibwa do not consider it a normal form of behavior. Suicide appears to be a new development and probably reflects the tensions inherent in the contact situation. Two Cat Lake men have recently killed themselves² and two men at Pickle Lake. In the latter cases one man was a Round Lake Ojibwa and the other from farther north. The only other case that could be recalled occurred fourteen to fifteen years ago north of Weagamow Lake. An old man, who was said to have been mentally unbalanced, hanged himself. From the few cases available a pattern is clear. Only men are involved, and except for one case, between the ages of twenty and thirty-five; death is always by hanging.

After a death has occurred there is no set period of mourning nor are there any special rites performed aside from those conducted by the churches. Theoretically, the relatives are forbidden to touch the corpse although in practice there are exceptions as in a case noted previously. Widows³ are called upon to wash the body and dress it in its best clothes. The body is then laid out with crossed arms and rigor mortis is allowed to set in. If the corpse does not stiffen the nails on its hands are pinched to see if by any chance the person is still alive. If after the nails are pinched they turn red it indicates that the person is still alive. If no red shows under the nails then the person is considered dead. Next the corpse is sewn tightly in a white cloth. As they perform this task the widows are watched by other members of the community who gather and sit about for the occasion. The only time men help is when it is necessary to raise the body to dress it and to slide the cloth under it. For their help the widows are given some of the better items belonging to the deceased. One of the men in the community who is known for his carpentry (there are two men who are known as "carpenters") makes the coffin. This work is done in the church or at home. His pay is merely tea and lunch while he is doing the work. Other men dig the grave.

When a person is buried he is placed on his back with the head toward the west. This is done, it is said, because the sun goes from the east to the west (suggesting that life passes the same way), and so the individual can watch the sky for Jesus who will come out of the Heavens in the east and proceed west. A person's spirit (ahca'hk) at death leaves the body and goes to either Heaven or Hell.⁴ The former seems to have been equated with the "land of the dead" (mite'-ahki) of former days. Hell is a new concept introduced by the missionaries, but no evidence could be elicited suggesting that a Round Lake Ojibwa ever thought he or anyone else in the community would go there.

There is a cemetery in the village of Round Lake where individuals are buried who have died in the settlement. If death occurs in the bush the person is

1. There is some indication that misfortunes are inflicted by God (manito') both as a form of punishment and as a test of belief in Christianity.
2. One was the case discussed above, although the suicide came originally from the Round Lake Community and his relatives still reside there.
3. There is no special name for a widow who does this.
4. See The Soul and Afterlife in Religion p.D41. for more details.

frequently buried there. The graves are usually situated on rising sandy ground oriented east-west and facing the water. A small cross is erected at the head of each grave. The village graveyard, but not those in the bush, is surrounded by a picket fence.

Introduction:

An important if not the most important social unit in the Round Lake community is the nuclear family with dependents, if any. The nuclear family is practically synonymous with household and is considered as such for discussion here. Specific Round Lake Ojibwa terms for nuclear family or household in distinction to other social units appear to be lacking. The term nintipe'ncike'win ("that which I am in charge of") can be employed by a man to refer to his nuclear family but also can mean a larger group of consanguinal relatives, a work party, or the community. The same applies to the word ninta'win ("the place where I stay") which depending on the context, means one house, a winter camp consisting of several cabins, or the village. It can be suggested that formerly the nuclear family was of much less importance than today and an integral part of the extended family or nintipe'ncike'win of an old man. The same statement might be made for ninta'win in the sense of a single lodge, which on frequent occasions if not always in the past was occupied by several nuclear families. This then constituted the entire population of a winter camp, and was the community for the greater part of the year.

The House and its Subsidiary Structures:

Whatever the situation was in the past, the nuclear family is today an independent and socially distinct unit which occupies a single cabin with few if any dependents. There are forty-six cabins in the village (and over thirty in the bush), about half of which are occupied throughout the year except for a few weeks in spring. Four families live in tents during the summer but when resident in the village during the winter live with other families, usually relatives.

The cabins are one storey high except for one which is two storeys, and all have double pitched roofs. The walls are made of logs, sometimes roughly squared, which rise to a height of six to eight feet. The logs are chinked with a species of sphagnum moss (maški'kohkamik), tamped into place with a special wooden tool in the shape of a blunt chisel. Over the moss small saplings of spruce or pine split in half are nailed in place. Frequently, instead of moss, a special earth (wa'pano'nak) mixed with water is used. This hardens like cement. Inside, the walls are frequently covered with cardboard as insulation against the cold. The roof and floor are of boards, the roof covered with tar paper. The floor is generally raised a foot or more above the ground. All houses have at least one glass window, some have as many as four. The average is about three. There is only one door into the cabin and, in all cases but one, an enclosed porch is attached in front of the doorway. The orientation of the door and the entrance to the porch are in most cases the same throughout the village. The house door most often faces south and the porch entrance east (Table 26). Protection from the northwest winds of winter seems to account for this orientation although no explicitly stated reason could be elicited for the arrangement.

The cabins are small and roughly square. Each consists of from one to three rooms with an average of two (Table 27). Floor space ranges from 110¹ to around 500 square feet, with an average of about 300 square feet. From one to five people occupy each room with twenty-two to 100 square feet for each person. The average is about fifty square feet of floor space to each occupant.

1. The figures given here are based on estimates made at the time the houses were visited.

TABLE 26
Orientation of Cabin Door and Porch Entrance, Round Lake Ojibwa,
1958-1959*

	Orientation			
	N.	E.	S.	W.
Cabin Door	1	3	8	0
Porch Entrance	0	9	2	0

* This is based on a sample of one-quarter of the houses. One house had no porch entrance.

TABLE 27
Number of Rooms per Number of Houses, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

	Number of Rooms		
	1	2	3
Number of Houses	5	4	9

The cabins are meagrely furnished. Each home has one stove, sometimes two during the coldest months of winter, placed in the centre of the main room. These are often made from fifty gallon oil or gas drums. Beds are limited. Generally there is only one, and not more than two were ever seen in any house. Most of these are homemade, short and wide. A table is usually placed under one of the windows. It too is homemade and covered with oilcloth. Crude benches or chairs and sometimes boxes serve as seats for the men. Women as a rule sit on the floor. Cupboards are placed on one or two walls to contain the family's few utensils and some food. Occasionally a washstand is installed. Nails are driven into the walls and additional clothing is stored in boxes and bags pushed under the beds or in an extra room. Clotheslines are hung along the walls or across corners on which to hang clothing. In those cabins with two or more rooms, one is usually utilized as a storeroom and as sleeping quarters for any young unmarried males. Equipment and sometimes firewood is stored on the porch.

Outside each house there are several additional structures located in close proximity. There is a toilet made of boards and roofed with tar paper, a refuse pit, a laundry platform and clothesline, in a few cases a small storehouse of logs and boards, and drying racks of various sorts. A few homes have a small smoke lodge. There are approximately ten of these in the village. In addition there are sometimes dog houses or sheds near the house. Finally, adjacent to a few homes are small fenced garden plots.

The Household:

Although there are only forty-six cabins in the village belonging to Round Lake Ojibwa, there are fifty-two households. This arises from the fact that two of the cabins are divided and each occupied by two households, and that four households were living in tents at the time of the census. One cabin is unoccupied and one household lives the year around in the bush with no cabin in the village. Each household is composed of a man, his wife and children and occasionally a dependent. As soon as a man marries he immediately establishes his own independent household. At first the couple may live in a tent but with time they usually erect a cabin. Accordingly, each household tends to be rather small. The mode is five individuals (Table 28).

TABLE 28

Number of Occupants per Number of Households, Round Lake Ojibwa,
1958-1959

	Number of Individuals per Household*									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Number of Households	3	8	6	7	13	6	2	4	1	2

* The figures given here total a population larger than that presented in the section, Population p.88. The reason for this is that the household census was made two months later than the village census. The latter is based on figures for July 1958 and the former for mid-September 1958. There had been a few births and several families had returned from Pickle Lake by this time, thus increasing the total.

Each household is composed of from one to five males of all ages (Table 29) On the other hand there are rarely more than two males sixteen years of age or older in one household (Table 30) and in no case more than one married male with wife living.

TABLE 29

Number of Males per Number of Households, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

	Number of Males in a Household							
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Number of Households	6	9	22	10	2	3	-	-

There are seven households in which there are no males over fifteen years of age. These households consist of widows, of whom three live alone, three are accompanied by one or more children, and one accompanied by a granddaughter (son's daughter). In all cases but one these widows live near a son, brother, brother-in-law, or husband's father's brother's son's son (ninto'shim) who see to their needs whenever necessary. The one exception is a woman without children or parents. Although she has two brother's one lives in another community and the second lives a considerable distance from her in the Round Lake village. Neighbours aid her occasionally but in general she appears neglected.

TABLE 30

Number of Males Sixteen Years of Age and Older per Number of Households,
Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

	Number of Males Sixteen Years of Age or Older in a Household			
	0	1	2	3
Number of Households	7	31	12	2

The number of females in each house varies from zero to seven (Table 31) no more than one of whom has a husband living. The mode is two females in each household. The two households in which there are only males consist in one case of a widower and young son and in the other case of two unmarried men. In the second case, a young man was living with his terminological father-in-law (niššišše'ns). This is not really a legitimate household except for the fact that they slept in a separate establishment and in part were independent of the con-

trol of others. The men took their meals with the older man's father, the junior's grandfather, and during the winter moved into his cabin. This particular household was in the process of fission. The man's son, twenty-nine years old and unmarried, was attempting to disassociate himself from intimate contact with his family. A complete break was not possible since he had no wife to tend to

TABLE 31

Number of Females per Number of Households, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

	Number of Females in a Household							
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Number of Households	2	9	16	15	4	4	1	1

the necessary household work and yet, because of the fact that he could purchase with money many necessary goods, he could live in this manner. This would not have been possible in the past. As soon as he is married the break will be complete as far as household arrangements are concerned.

In slightly more than one-half of the cases (27) a household is composed solely of a nuclear family; man, his wife, and unmarried children (Table 32). In five cases the household is composed of the remnant of a nuclear family, a widow or widower with unmarried children. In other cases the nuclear family includes in addition the husband's mother (five cases) or other relatives (five cases) of either the husband or the wife, either consanguinal or affinal from the point of view of the Round Lake Ojibwa. In these five households in addition to the nuclear family the following individuals are found: a widowed daughter (ninta'niss) and her daughter, (no'siss); a daughter's infant son (no'siss) (both parents living); the husband's brother's young son (ninto'sim) (the father a widower), the wife's brother's youngest son (nininkwan) and daughter (ninaha'ka'nihkwe'm); the husband's father's widowed brother (nimiššo'me'nš); and the wife's father's sister's son's son (nininkwan). In only three cases is a non-relative a member of a household. The four remaining households are composed of a grandmother (no'hkom) and her adult unmarried daughter's son (no'siss); two unmarried males (described above); a woman and her daughter's daughter (no'siss) and son's son (no'siss); and a woman and her son's daughter (no'siss). In one of the last two cases, a girl cares for her father's mother, and in the other a girl cares for her mother's mother (no'hkom) and her mother's brother's young sons (ni'nim).

TABLE 32

Composition of Households, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958*

Composition	Sex	Number
Single Occupants	male	0
	female	3
Remnant Nuclear Family		5
Nuclear Family		27
Nuclear Family plus Husband's Mother		5
Nuclear Family plus other Relatives		5
Nuclear Family plus non-relatives		3
Other Combinations		4
Total		52

* This was the situation during the fall before the trapping season commenced. During the winter there were temporary alterations in this pattern.

Dependents attached to a household frequently change their residence. A young man of twenty is a case in point. His mother died when he was born. He was then placed in the care of a number of relatives in sequence — step-mother, his father's half-brother's wife's mother, and finally his father's sister. Rarely did he live at home. During the course of fieldwork he was associated with the household of his father's mother's father's brother's son.

To sum up, a household is in general (slightly more than half the cases recorded) equivalent to the nuclear family. Never do two married couples occupy the same household except under special circumstances. This occurs when a family with no cabin in the village returns from the trapline during the winter, and then shares a cabin with another family for a few weeks to several months.

Ideally, the members of a household form a relatively well co-ordinated unit who co-operate in various ways to insure the survival of the members over time. Day after day approximately the same tasks are performed by the appropriate individuals, varied only according to the season of the year.

All members of the household as a rule rise early and at about the same time. This occurs about sunrise but not infrequently earlier, especially during winter.¹ The first task is to build a fire and start a pot of tea. After drinking a cup of tea the individuals wash and are now ready to eat breakfast. The women prepare this, while the men sit, continuing to consume tea. After eating, the head of the family leads a service consisting of prayers and a hymn. Now the day's main activities start. The men go to tend to their tasks such as checking fish nets (an almost daily first task during the summer), getting firewood, tending rabbit snares or traps, or hunting. A few may have wage employment. In this case the men may be gone all day. In the village, if the men are not busy later in the morning, they may gather at the store, occasionally buying a few supplies. The women care for the children, draw water, saw and split firewood, do laundry and care for the house. Generally the entire morning is devoted to these tasks. During the summer, fires are started in the smoke lodges or under the fish drying rack. Around noon everyone has a second meal. The men as a rule sit at a table and are served by the women. The latter and the children sit on the floor. The afternoon tends to be more relaxed. Work of a variable nature is done. A canoe may be repaired, snowshoe frames or some other piece of equipment made. The women may work on gill nets, do laundry, sew, or engage in some other household task. A few may go to the store for supplies, although this seems to be commonly undertaken by the men. Toward five o'clock the family gathers for the final meal of the day. After supper there may be prayers, or when in the village the entire family may go to evening church services. Services are sometimes held before supper. Rarely is any work done during the evening. The time is spent at home or occasionally visiting neighbours. With the exception of the teenage girls and boys the entire family retires early. The boys spend the evening in a stylized search, trying to locate the girls and flirting with them. Occasionally the men do some work at night such as tending fish nets, hauling logs or travelling. The above is the standard week-day program. Saturday activities increase somewhat with firewood readied for Sunday and additional supplies bought at the store. Although a few people do some work, Sunday in general is a day of rest, church services being the only activity for many people.

The household is the smallest social unit, a unit basic to the Round Lake

1. This description is based on the routine of one household which was observed in detail, and is consistent with fragmentary observations of other households.

community. It performs a number of vital functions among which economic activities and the socialization of children are perhaps the most important. It is also perhaps the most important political unit in the community and at times acts as a religious unit.

The married male of the household, or rarely a widow, is the authority figure, having jural rights over all other members.¹ The position of leader is based on sex, age, experience, religious knowledge, economic controls and defence of the household. Since male dominance prevails in the community it is only natural that a male will be leader of the family. That he is the eldest male is due to the fact that in most cases the other males in the household are so young as to be still without much status in the community. The elder has the requisite knowledge and experience in hunting, trapping, and religious lore to command a position of respect. Finally, it is the man who has the greatest economic control. Family allowances paid directly to his wife limit this to a certain extent, but the man's contribution to the support of the family is somewhat greater. On the average a man makes somewhat more than twice as much as a woman.

The leader can and does on occasion give orders to the other members of the household. He is in direct control of his young children. As they grow older the boys are still in most cases under the control of their father but have greater freedom of action. At present the authority of the father over his teenage sons tends to be breaking down. A boy of fourteen struck his father and nothing was done. In other cases unmarried sons have left their fathers to work elsewhere or to be married. The fathers were annoyed, but could do nothing. Middle-aged informants deplore this change, which has occurred within their memory. Still, there are sons who obey their father's commands and follow their wishes. The leader has somewhat greater control over his older daughters, who are supervised much more closely than sons, but even daughters are able to disobey their father and avoid the consequences. A father may forbid his daughters to smoke, but they will find a boy who will buy cigarettes for them and they can find the opportunity to smoke them. They slip out to make contact with the teenage boys no matter how much their father preaches against such practices. Nevertheless, the breakdown in parental authority has not yet progressed very far.

Much of the time the household gives the appearance of complete harmony and smoothly running efficiency. An elder in the community who has his family under almost complete control presents an interesting picture. In the cabin he sits in his accustomed place and is waited on by his wife. She sits beside him serving his food and handing him items he asks for. If she can not reach them she may ask a daughter to fetch them. The daughter undertakes the most strenuous household tasks supervised by her mother and waits on all other members of the family. The son when speaking to his father moves over to where he is sitting, listens respectfully, and does as his father commands.

The household acts as a religious unit only to a limited extent. In the village families usually attend church rather than performing their own rites. At the winter camp, on the other hand, they gather for hymn singing and prayers (only the most devout families) several times a day. Usually the service is conducted by the family head, but he may on occasion delegate the task to a son. In one instance a woman was observed leading the service. In this case she

1. An exception would be cases where an elderly widower occupied the same household, but this rarely happens. Only one case exists in the community of Round Lake on a permanent basis.

was ten years older than her husband and was an extremely religiously oriented individual with a rather weak and ineffectual husband. In general, religious performances are in the hands of Euro-Canadian missionaries or native preachers.

As far as is known the household acts as a purely social unit only on rare occasions. It does attend church services, in part a social affair, as a unit. As a rule the family marches to church in a line led by the senior male, but once inside they separate, the males to one side and the females to the other. The household is rarely observed in a body visiting other families. Generally it is the men who go visiting. Usually the family spends a quiet evening together at home, and of course at the winter camp, unless there are several households, nothing else can be done. There are no forms of amusement except playing the guitar (males only) gossiping, or listening to the radio. The family members can be observed after supper relaxing within the cabin. The father and mother may be reclining on the floor, a son on the bed, one daughter sitting on the floor sewing and another looking at a magazine. Occasional comments are made by the various members. A family co-operates in some economic task where a certain amount of purely social activity takes place. These tasks vary from predominantly economic to predominantly social activities. For example, a man may decide to spend a few days duck hunting and takes his whole family along. The women may collect a few berries while the man hunts. There is little economic return in such excursions: they are rather in the nature of a holiday.

In the sphere of economics the household forms a most, if not the most, important unit in the community. It is under the leadership and guidance of the husband-father. All members over eight to twelve years of age make a contribution. The adult males contribute on the average two-thirds of the cash income, three-quarters of the food, one-half of the clothing, most of the logs for firewood, and capital equipment such as motors, guns, traps, cabins, stoves, etc. Women, both old and young, prepare the furs and hides, process meat and fish, cook the food, sew and mend clothing as well as launder it, saw and split the firewood, care for the dogs, and unload the toboggan when the men return from trapping or the store. Children, especially the girls, help wherever they can. Girls do many of the same chores as their mothers. Boys infrequently aid their mothers and are not strong enough until they are ten to twelve years old to accompany and aid their fathers. Each member, while contributing his or her share to the maintenance of the house, as a rule does so in co-operation with other members. A man and his young unmarried son(s) work together trapping, fishing and reconquering canoes. Although this is true, it must be born in mind that frequently the adult males of several households associate in trapping, hunting and fishing. A woman and her daughter(s) dress furs, prepare hides, and clean and preserve fish in co-operation with each other. Generally speaking, such co-operation does not include women of different households. On the whole the tasks are such that the sexes are spatially separated — the women at home and the men in the bush. Occasionally an entire family is observed working at its appointed tasks near the cabin and occasionally conversing while they work. A father and son may be reconquering a canoe and calling a daughter to aid them. The wife may be dressing a moose hide while several daughters are working another hide nearby. The mother and/or father may occasionally inspect their work, the mother sometimes aiding them. At another time a man may be seen fixing the cabin while his wife and a dependent male hang up fish nets to dry. If one member of the family has a task to perform, other members, if not busy, often stand around aiding where possible and chatting.

A most important function of the household is the socialization of children. Although many forces external to the household mold the youths of the community, the older members of the household probably play the greatest role. Through example, stories, "lectures", commands, and on rare occasions corporal punishment, the child learns the norms, mores, and proper behavior appropriate to his culture. This is of extreme importance in terms of the present day acculturative process. Early in life the child learns a set of precepts which in many cases conflict with those inherent in Canadian society. The resolution of the conflicts later is often impossible and the attempt often produces a neurotic individual. This in turn has consequences for the next generation of children. In time a state of anomie is approached. The several cases of suicide which have occurred recently in the area suggest that this is what is happening today.

Ideally, a household progresses through several stages of a short developmental cycle which corresponds to the life span of its male founder. A household can be thought of as starting with the marriage of a man and woman when they found an independent establishment. With time the unit is enlarged through the birth of children, who remain within the household, as a rule, until late adolescence or until marriage. When they reach their late teens or early twenties unmarried boys tend to become peripheral members of the household. They may go outside to work or may move, because of overcrowding as a rule, to another household. In either case they continue to associate with their parents to a certain extent. Eventually, sons and daughters marry and establish their own households. The original household continues until its male founder dies. With his death his widow moves in with a married son and the original household comes to an end. There is no continuity through time. The stage at which the household contains many children, some approaching marriagable age, is the most important. It is quite independent of all other units in the community, being highly self-sufficient in many ways. The ages of its members are the most favourable for coping with the economic pursuits basic to existence. It is at the pinnacle of its success.

Finally, the household can be considered from the point of view of the total community. In this context the households are seen to form inter-locking alliances by means of kinship and inter-marriage which unify the total community. At the same time each household stands as an independent unit in opposition to other such units and to such institutions as chieftainship. Furthermore, each household operates independently in its relations with Euro-Canadian agencies.

There are basically two ways in which households are linked together — kinship and economics. Perhaps the most important is that of kinship. As many as one-quarter of the households, from one particular individual's point of view, may be united through close kinship bonds. The household leader, in consultation with other family heads, arranges the marriage of his children. If the partners are kin it tends to increase the solidarity; if they are non-kin a new linkage of households is brought into being.

The other linkage is through economics. Trapping partners from different households link their families together through economic co-operation. In addition the leader of the household may contract with other members of the community to perform certain services for the family such as making repairs on their home, getting in a supply of firewood, digging potatoes, and transportation when moving.

Although households are linked together in the abovemanner, there is an opposite tendency whereby the households act independently of all others. As has

been indicated, each household is potentially economically independent of all others. Actual hostility between households, especially heads of households, is not infrequent. It is the head who protects and defends his family against others. By means of dreams he gains knowledge of harm threatening the family members. Several cases of this nature were recorded. A man dreamed that his new born son was being attacked by the "power" of his father-in-law. He was able to overcome the evil. In another case, a man was warned of the impending death of his two youngest children if they were not soon baptized. He immediately attempted to remedy the situation.

In cases of trouble such as trespass it is the family head who attempts to settle it. In the case of a woman who was assaulted, it was her husband who dealt with the situation himself, speaking to the culprit and his brother. He would not and did not go to the chief. In a second case, the family head defended his son against charges of drinking brought against him by the chief.

The overall picture can be seen as a seesaw effect — opposing factors linking and fragmenting the total community from the point of view of the individual households.

THE HUNTING GROUP – WINTER CAMP

Introduction:

With the advent of fall the community of Round Lake begins to undergo a change. A large number of people leave the village and re-occupy their camps in the bush preparatory to the trapping season. In distinction to former days, a number of families remain in the village for the winter, and the hunting group, as formerly constituted, is rapidly disappearing at the present time. It is being replaced by a new social unit, the trapping partnership. Each hunting group or trapping partnership which moves into the bush occupies a winter camp on the shore of a lake. There were a total of sixteen winter camps occupied during November-December 1958. Concentrations are found at Caribou and Windigo Lakes, there being four occupied camps on each during this period. The other camps are found singly on lakes and occasionally a river scattered throughout the area (Map 7). The winter camp of a hunting group is usually placed within the trapping territory (Map 9) it exploits. There are never more than three winter camps in any one territory. Eleven winter camps are located twenty-five or more miles from the village, the maximum distance being approximately fifty air miles.

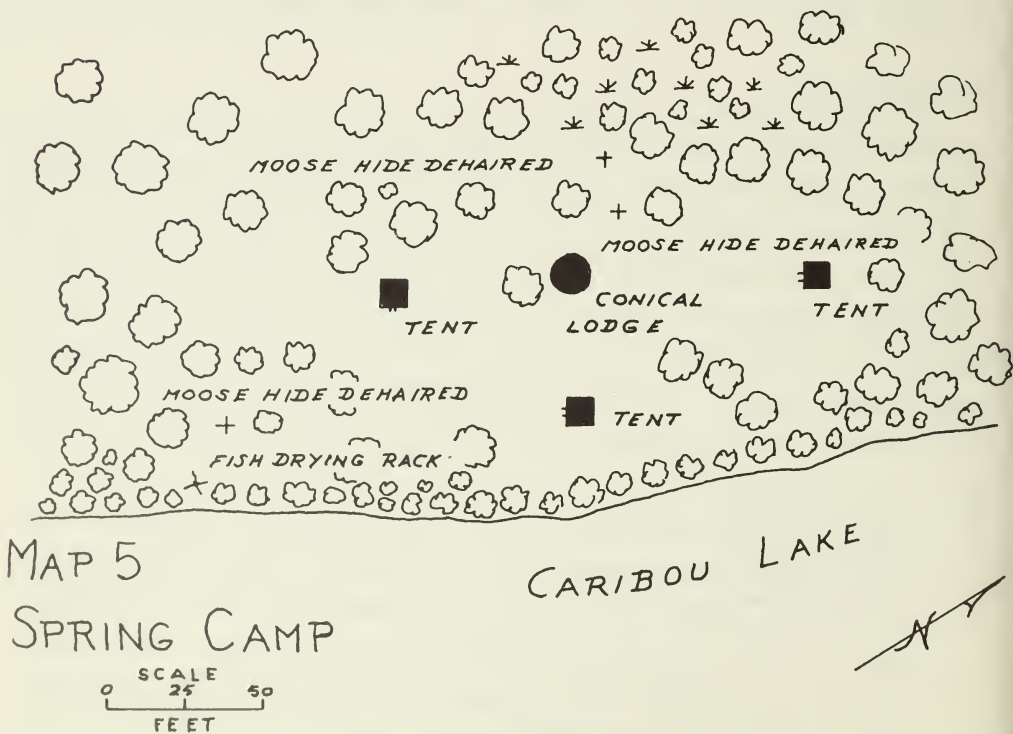
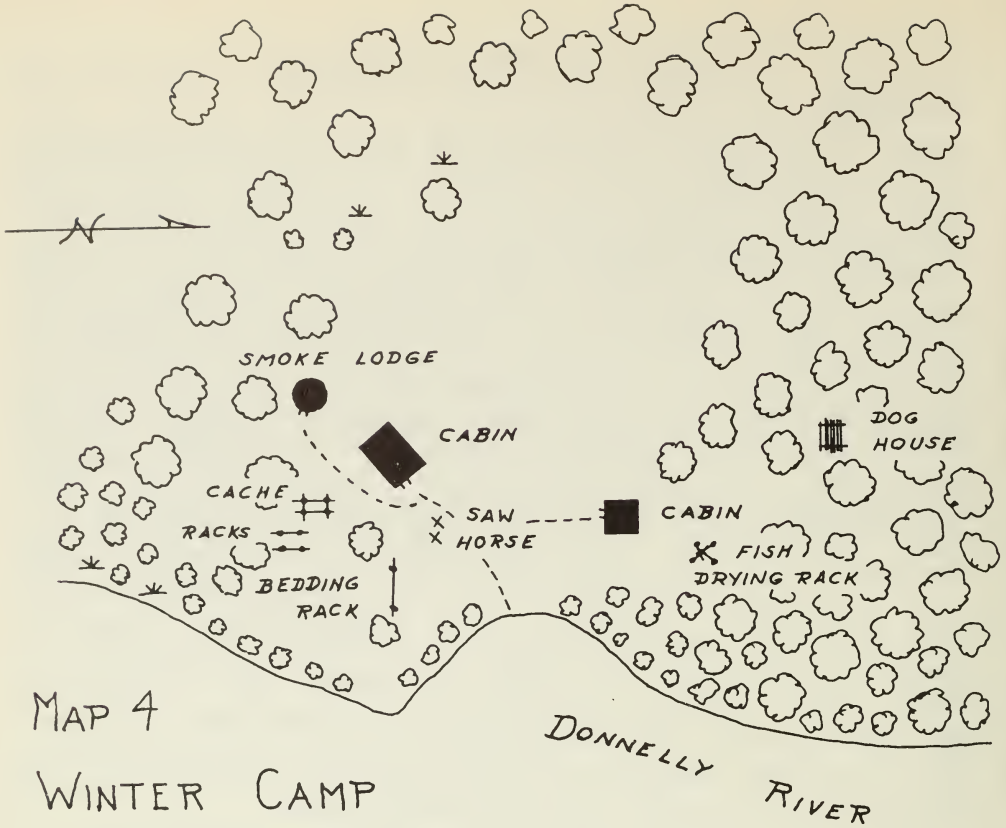
A winter camp is referred to as either nimpipo'nišši'win or ninta'win. Winter camps vary in size from a single tiny log cabin to establishments comprising four or five cabins with assorted out-buildings such as a dog house, smoke lodges, storehouses, and other forms of equipment (Map 4). The structures found in a winter camp are essentially the same as those at the village. The only noticeable differences are that the cabins are smaller as a rule, the doors much narrower and lower, and there are fewer windows.

During the spring, the winter camp may be abandoned and a spring camp established near open water, usually within a few miles of the winter camp. At the spring camp (Map 5) tents or conical lodges are erected in which to live, and associated structures are limited to fish drying racks and frames for working moose hides.

Hunting Group:

As noted above, with the arrival of fall approximately one-half of the people in the community leave the village, move into the bush, and establish winter camps. During November and December 1958, 102 people were resident in the bush and 127 in the village.¹ Whereas formerly each hunting group was composed of at least one and usually several nuclear families, today the composition of the winter camp varies greatly. The changes that have taken place in the winter residence pattern have occurred only within the last ten years. The factors responsible for these changes are multiple – a new winter school, the pleasures of village life, a money economy, the difficulty and uncertainty of life in the bush, and probably others. These factors coincide to produce the present situation. No one is a sole determinant except perhaps in some individual cases. For

1. The constitution of hunting groups during the period of November-December 1958 is taken as basic for several reasons. This was perhaps the most stable period, when movement was at a minimum. During the periods January-March and April-May there were some alterations in group composition, and the general movement of the people was considerable. Furthermore, data for these periods are not as complete as for November-December. Therefore January-March and April-May are not discussed, but they do conform in general to the November-December period.



example, although six trappers left their families in the village so that their children could attend school, eleven men took their families in spite of the fact that they had school age children. Coupled with this is the fact that those trappers who left their families in the village returned after an absence of several weeks and spent a week or so at home before continuing trapping. On the other hand, those who took their families with them in general did not do this. Besides the factor of school, several men did not take their wives or families because of sickness, or the fear of sickness. They wished to be near the village where they could quickly summon the aid of Euro-Canadians if needed. In another case, a woman feared her husband's violent temper and simply refused to go in the bush with him. This she could do with impunity since so many people remain in the village during the winter on whom she could depend for aid. Finally, now that planes are frequently chartered to move the trappers to their camps, the added cost of transporting their families and additional supplies needed discourages them from taking their dependents.

Of the twenty-six married trappers whose wives were still living and who established winter camps in the bush in the fall of 1958, seventeen were accompanied by their wives and children (Table 33). Nine men left their families in the village. Whether a man leaves his family in the village or not appears to make little difference in the amount of fur he traps.¹

Because of the changes that are taking place it is difficult to present a general picture of the size, composition, and operation of the winter camps. The camp may be inhabited by only one or by as many as five men (Table 34). The sixteen winter camps of Round Lake Ojibwa ranged in size from one to twelve individuals with an average of seven. Even if all married men had been accompanied by their families and dependents the average size of the winter camp would only be about eleven. The maximum size would have been eighteen.

TABLE 33

Place of Residence of the Round Lake Ojibwa, November-December 1958

	<u>Number of Occupants</u>	
	Village	Bush
Trappers	14	41
Trappers - unmarried	3	15
Trappers - married with wife living	11	26
Trappers - accompanied by wife and children		17

TABLE 34

Number of Men per Number of Winter Camps, Round Lake Ojibwa
November-December 1958

	<u>Number of Men in a Camp</u>				
	1	2	3	4	5
Number of Winter Camps	2	7	4	2	1

Of the sixteen winter camps, nine were composed of one or more households including women and children (Table 35). Two winter camps were composed of one household each plus one or more trappers who had left their families in the village. Five winter camps were composed only of males.

The males in each winter camp during November and December of 1958 were for the most part close relatives: father/son, brother/brother, father-in-l. Cases are too few, however, to make a definite statement on this point.

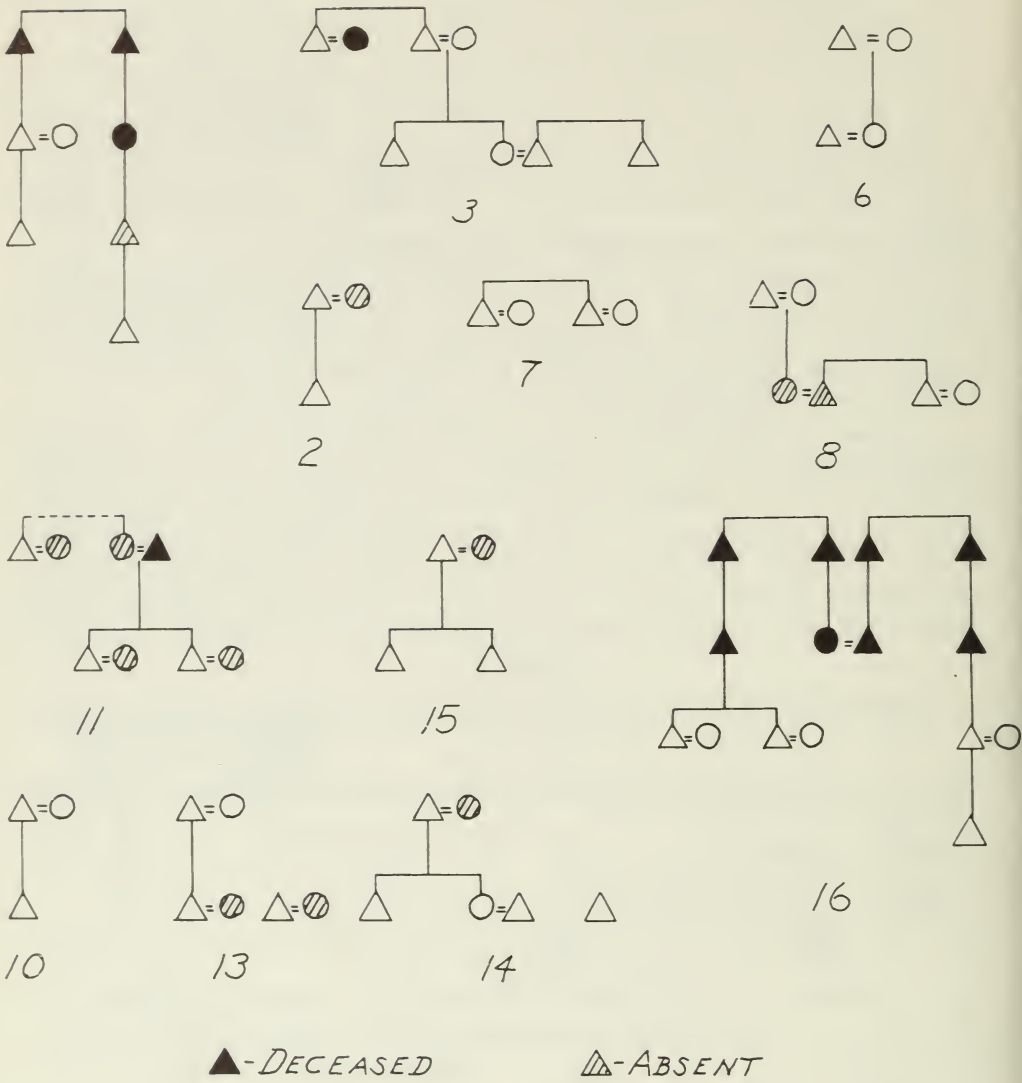


FIG 9 - GENEOLGICAL RELATIONSHIP AND MARITAL STATUS OF THE MEN IN THE WINTER CAMPS, ROUND LAKE OJIBWA, NOV-DEC 1958

law/son-in-law, brother-in-law/brother-in-law (Figure 9), and in two cases an unrelated male was a member of the camp.

KEY to FIGURE 9

Geneological Relationship and Marital Status of the Men in the Winter Camps, Round Lake Ojibwa, November-December 1958.

Winter Camp #	1.	Makoop Lake,	Trapping	Territory	No. I
" "	2.	Caribou Lake,	"	"	No. IV
" "	3.	" "	"	"	No. IV
" "	4.	Wapuskeya Lake,	"	"	No. V (single m)
" "	5.	Skinner Lake,	"	"	No. V " "
" "	6.	Opapimiskan L.,	"	"	No. VI and VII
" "	7.	Donnelly River,	"	"	No. VIII
" "	8.	Weagamow Lake,	"	"	No. X
" "	9.	" "	"	"	No. X(un-related)
" "	10.	Magiss Lake	"	"	No. XI
" "	11.	Yoyoy Lake,	"	"	No. XII
" "	12.	Windigo Lake,	"	"	No. XIV(un-related)
" "	13.	" "	"	"	No. XIII
" "	14.	" "	"	"	No. XV
" "	15.	" "	"	"	No. XVI
" "	16.	Ochek Lake	"	"	No. XVII and XVIII

Winter Camps No. 4, 5, 9, and 12 are not shown in the figure since they are composed of either single men or men who are not related.

TABLE 35

Number of Households per Number of Winter Camps, Round Lake Ojibwa November-December 1958

Number of Winter Camps	Number of Households in a Winter Camp		
	1	2	3
	6	4	1

At present, winter camps can be classified according to three types (Table 36), which show a transition from the old way of life in which several households formed a winter camp and hunting group, to a new pattern in which the camp is composed solely of men.

TABLE 36

Types of Winter Camps, Round Lake Ojibwa, November-December 1958

Types of Winter Camp	Number
Type 1 – Winter Camps composed of Households	9
Single Household	4
Two or more households	5
Type 2 – Winter Camps with Households and Trappers without families	2
Type 3 – Winter Camps composed of Trappers Only	5
Single Trappers	1
Two or more trappers	4

There is another complicating factor in the analysis of winter camps. Not all operate as a unit. There were twenty-one (perhaps twenty-two) trapping part-

nerships operating from sixteen winter camps, and six from the village. In general, only two men trapped together. In those cases during 1958 where the camp was occupied only by men without their families, the trappers invariably acted as a team, hunting and trapping together. Of the five camps composed of more than one household, the men of three of these operated individually or in trapping partnerships. This was also true for the two composite camps. Table 37 gives the relationships of the trapping partners. One camp was composed of five men but their various associations when trapping is unknown.

TABLE 37

Relationship of All Trapping Partners (married and unmarried),*
Round Lake Ojibwa, November-December 1958

Relationship of Partners	Number of Actual Cases	Number of Potential Cases
Single Men	7	
<u>Two Man Teams</u>		
Father/Son	5	14
Brother/Brother	2	13
Father-in-law/Son-in-law (Actual)	1	
(terminological)	2	(10 men with)
Brother-in-law/Brother-in-law (Actual)	0	(son-in-law)
(terminological)	1	(17 men with)
No relationship	6	(father-in-law)
Total	17	
<u>Three Man Teams</u>		
Father/son, Brother/Brother	1	
Brother/Brother (actual),		
Father-in-law/Son-in-law (terminological)	1	
No Relationship	1	
Total	3	

* One winter camp (No. 3) is excluded as it is not known in what order they formed trapping partnerships.

If there is any pattern in trapping partnerships, and if so it appears weakly developed, it is that a father hunts and traps with his unmarried son or sons. If the father is dead, a man goes with his married brother. If he has no brother, he goes with his father-in-law. One feature is consistent in most trapping partnerships: men of equal age as a rule do not trap and hunt together. On the average there is a fifteen to twenty year age differential between them (Table 38). Furthermore, independent trappers and the senior males of the trapping partnerships are generally married, as might be expected. Finally, independent trappers are quite likely to take their families with them.

The operation of the winter camp is somewhat difficult to describe since the composition varies. In general, it can be said that a winter camp operates like a household although in a less rigid manner. Those camps which consist of a single household operate in all fields (political, religious, and economic) in the same way as described under Nuclear Family-Household.

In those camps where there are only men, they co-operate with each other in establishing and maintaining the camp, and in setting traps. In three of the

TABLE 38

Ages of Trapping Partners, Round Lake Ojibwa, November-December 1958				
Trapping Partnerships	Two		Three	
	Single Men	Man Teams	Man Teams	Man Teams*
Average Age	54.5	32	28	27.5
Range in Age	34-71	13-58	15-42	18-39
Average Age of Elders		42	38	
Range in Age of Elders		25-58	35-42	
Average Age of Juniors		22	23	
			(24 & 21)	
Range in age of Juniors		13-36	15-27	

* This group undoubtedly breaks up into smaller teams but there is no information available to specify the cleavage.

four cases the men are closely related, such as father and son or brothers. In these cases the normal kinship behavior patterns regulate conduct, and the unit operates along the same lines as the household except for the absence of women. The eldest male acts as leader. An exception to this is a three man trapping partnership. The youngest man claimed he was the leader because he was a councilor.

Those winter camps which are composed of more than one household form a weak economic, political, and religious unit in sharp contrast to the hunting group of the past. Few winter camps of this nature remain. Basically they are still orientated along lines of kinship and operate accordingly. The senior married male is looked upon as leader. Although member families may in part operate as independent units at certain times of the year, especially during the summer months, they in general follow the lead of the senior family. This family head does not command the others but merely sets an example which they follow. When the senior family leaves for the winter camp so do the others, although each household frequently travels independently. Once winter camp is established the operation of the unit begins. The men co-operate with each other as do the women in economic pursuits. The leader's position is explicitly recognized in this connection through the fact that the other hunters turn over their kills of moose and caribou to him for distribution. He divides the meat received from other hunters and from his own kills, with the other members of the camp. The same is not true of the furs secured which are to be sold to the traders. Furs in general are the property of the individual who secures them. On occasion if the leader has trouble paying his debt with the trader, he is aided by others of the group. As far as is known, this takes place strictly along kinship lines. The leader is also in charge of any religious services that are held.

The leader's position is maintained, although weakly, in several ways. One means is through the distribution of meat which he and the others secure. Secondly, his position is sanctioned through kinship obligations and duties instilled in the members from birth. Thirdly, his senior age tends to assure him respect for his knowledge and superior wisdom. In this connection religious knowledge on the part of the leader is important. One informant claimed that he was leader although there was an older married man in the group, saying this was because he was a better worker (which was clearly not the case), and a leader in the church as his father had been (which was true). The leader is looked to for aid in mediating with the supernatural. It is his task to preserve the group from harm. Conversely, if his directions are not followed ill luck may

plague those who do not conform to his wishes.

The hunting group is weakly organized and appears to be disappearing. Contact with Euro-Canadians is slowly undermining the position of the leader and the group is breaking up. With changing values and attitudes, the senior male member may be considered out of step and his wisdom and knowledge of little value. In addition, his religious role has tended to be usurped by the Euro-Canadian missionaries and native preachers. A money economy is allowing the nuclear family to emerge as an independent unit, with no need to rely on the bounty of the leader or member families. Today, each nuclear family can purchase or is given what it needs by the Government. Since the nuclear family has fewer reasons to call on relatives for aid, the wider extensions of kinship are slowly disappearing.

The Round Lake Ojibwa have no word strictly equivalent to the English "family" in the sense of a group of related people, a group of which any member might use the term "my family" referring to the same individuals. Instead, they use a term which in varied contexts refers to a group under the leadership of a particular person. The term nintipe'ncike'win, derived from nintipe'ncike' "I lead, I boss," means "those whom I lead" or "my followers."

It can be seen that although a married man might refer to his wife and children as nintipe'ncike'win and that this would coincide with "my family" in this context, the term could not normally be so translated. For a child to say nintipe'ncike'win would be meaningless. On the other hand, if the context changes, nintipe'ncike'win might mean a work crew under a particular leader. If reference is made to the leader of a hunting group, he might use nintipe'ncike'win to refer to all the members of the hunting camp.

The term is useful because it is so flexible. While a man may say nintipe'ncike'win in reference to his wife and children and anyone else who falls under his sphere of influence and responsibility, the man himself may well be a follower of someone else, his father for example, who will include his son and his son's "followers" when he says nintipe'ncike'win. The term always occurs in possessed form, and refers to a group of differing composition for each different possessor. It is probably no exaggeration to say that an understanding of the use of this term will provide a key to understanding the network of interlocked and shifting social units which form the social structure of the Round Lake Ojibwa.¹ If the term is always translated "my followers" and the context is specified there will be no confusion.

While the term can be used in any context involving a leader and followers, the most common context is that of kinship, referring to the group of kinsmen for whom a man is responsible. The kinsmen for whom a man is responsible are determined in accordance with a number of principles. The first is that of patrilineal descent. A man will be leader of his male descendents, but this is limited to three generations. A second principle involves the solidarity of brothers. An older brother is responsible for his younger full brothers and their descendents. The responsibility is limited or absent with regard to half-brothers and does not extend to collaterals. A third principle involves the dependency of women. Unmarried and widowed women are under the care of fathers first, then of brothers, and finally, depending on circumstances, of sons. Married women come under the authority of their husbands and may be further subject to senior male relations of the husband.

These principles provide the means of determining, in theory, the composition of a man's nintipe'ncike'win. In practice various circumstances bring it about that other individuals in addition to those indicated are included. Unmarried step-sons are included in their step-father's nintipe'ncike'win. When a man's father dies, even if he has brothers, he is considered a member of his father-in-law's nintipe'ncike'win. At the same time, an older brother will include him in his own nintipe'ncike'win. Informants claimed that even if both a man's father and father-in-law were still living he might go with his

1. It must be emphasized that much more fieldwork is necessary among the Round Lake Ojibwa before a thorough understanding of the concept of nintipe'ncike'win will be revealed. The material presented here is a preliminary attempt and may well have to be altered in the future.

father-in-law's nintipe'ncike'win if his father was not "smart." The implication here is that a man must handle his son correctly or else his son will leave him. It also suggests a means whereby a man may augment the size of his nintipe'ncike'win by securing sons-in-law even though their fathers are still living. It must be emphasized that the nintipe'ncike'win of several old men need not necessarily be mutually exclusive groups. Overlapping of assumed responsibilities provides one type of situation which can cause trouble between men.

Although the nintipe'ncike'win can consist of three generations of males the actual size of a man's following always depends on his age, the marital status of the man's consanguinal female relatives, and whether or not particular relatives of his own generation are living. The older a man is the more numerous are the kin relations whom he will include in his nintipe'ncike'win.

The above statements refer to the ideal situation as expressed by informants and gives a picture much more formalized than actually exists. Today, a man's nintipe'ncike'win when it consists of more than his wife and children rarely comes into operation as a unit. In the past it was of much greater importance, if informant's statements have been judged correctly, and an old man's nintipe'ncike'win was in practice the hunting group, which formed an active political, economic, and religious unit for the greater part of the year. Today, this is no longer true. The weakening in the solidary bonds of a man's nintipe'ncike'win has been brought about in several ways. With the introduction of a money economy, each man has acquired economic independence; an old man through his pension, and a young man through trapping, fishing or wages. A man no longer has to depend on members of his nintipe'ncike'win for most goods. These he can secure for cash either at the store or from any member of the community regardless of kin relation. This is seen in the cases of a number of married men of the community who to all intents and purposes act only in conjunction with their immediate families and independently of all other households. Informants rationalize the situation by stating that a "good" man — i.e. hard-working and prosperous — is not interfered with by his elders within whose nintipe'ncike'win he belongs. Only when there is trouble do others interfere. Furthermore, those in need are taken care of by the Government, weakening the need for a man's nintipe'ncike'win to support dependent relatives such as orphans, widows, and those who are sick.

The position of a man as leader of his nintipe'ncike'win has been further weakened through the efforts of Euro-Canadian missionaries. The leader no longer performs the various religious rites which formerly insured the well-being of the members of his nintipe'ncike'win and protected them from harm. The fear of witchcraft still remains, and ill-luck and deaths are interpreted many times in terms of witchcraft, and yet the man who is leader of his nintipe'ncike'win can do little or nothing about this.¹

While contact with Euro-Canadians has weakened the nintipe'ncike'win, it has at the same time altered its composition. This has arisen, in part, through

1. In the sphere of economics, an old man's nintipe'ncike'win no longer needs to operate, since each man has economic independence. In the sphere of religion, the nintipe'ncike'win is weakened not because each man can solve his own problems but because no one can do this any more. The economic changes appear to have increased a man's potential security, whereas the religious changes have reduced it. Changes in both spheres have tended to weaken the widest extension of the nintipe'ncike'win.

the application of Canadian legal principles to the members of the community of Round Lake. The inheritance of property and the care of widows are cases in point. Formerly, when a man died his property went to his brothers or his sons. Today it is inherited by his widow according to Canadian law. This is causing some confusion and trouble as property among the Round Lake Ojibwa increases and as they are drawn more closely into the stream of Canadian society. A case may illustrate this point. Near the end of fieldwork a man was hired with a canoe and motor to make several trips. It was understood at the time that the canoe and motor were his, and he was accordingly paid for their use. A few days later the widow of this man's brother came and demanded payment for the rent of "her" canoe and motor. When the man was told of this event he became extremely agitated and was most insistent that the canoe and motor were his own. They had belonged to his brother and were therefore his. He had, he said, recanvassed the canoe and made repairs to the motor further strengthening his claim to them. But when he calmed down he added that they were his sister-in-law's since the Government had told her the property of her husband was hers on her husband's death. Nevertheless, ever since his brother's death this man had been using the canoe and motor, and according to the indigenous inheritance system they were his. A conflict only arose when the canoe and motor were used for hire. Then, each "owner" demanded payment, not half, but each the full amount.¹

A final factor which inhabits the active operation of a man's nintipe'ncike'win is the scattered residence pattern. Today, the members of a man's nintipe'ncike'win are quite frequently living in different winter camps, and owning cabins in widely separated parts of the village, if not in different communities.

As stated before a man's nintipe'ncike'win does not appear to come into operation very frequently at the present time. Its operation is defined more by informants statements as to what should be done rather than by what is done. There are at least three spheres in which a man's nintipe'ncike'win still operates to varying degrees — mutual aid, control of members, and the arrangement of marriages, though fewer members of a man's nintipe'ncike'win are involved today than in the past. A man aids the members of his nintipe'ncike'win in several ways and they in turn aid him. A man sees that his widowed mother widowed sisters and in some cases widowed sister-in-law (by Government edict²) are provided with country game, that they have proper housing, are supplied with firewood, and that they are not molested by other members of the community. In some cases, such as the repair of houses, the man will ask for compensation from his mother or sister-in-law since, as informants say, the Government is giving them an allowance and therefore they have the ability to pay. The women of a man's nintipe'ncike'win provide him with moccasins and mittens and render him other help in times of need. If a man's wife is ill, then the other women, especially a widowed mother, help in the housekeeping and care of the children.

1. It might be considered that this was merely a dodge to extract more money from a Euro-Canadian. Although a dual standard does exist, one applied to fellow Round Lake Ojibwas and another to Euro-Canadians, this case does not illustrate a normal way of gaining advantage of an outsider. Both individuals could be trusted and each gave every appearance of sincerely believing what he and she said.
2. Two cases exist. In one the woman "should now" return to her father and in another to her brother, there being no father living.

Today, a man has lost much of his former power to control the actions of the members of his nintipe'ncike'win. Younger married males, for reasons stated previously, are relatively independent of his control and a man's authority is restricted to the members of his immediate family. A man can no longer effectively control his married sons or younger married brothers. In one case a man had four sons, only two of whom were married. Of all his sons only one young boy, unmarried, remained with his father. The other three had escaped his control by going outside to work. In another case, a young man defied his father by marrying a girl against his father's wishes, and then deserted his father to live with his father-in-law. Control is primarily restricted to unmarried sons and unmarried or widowed daughters and sisters.

There is strong feeling that a man should have control over the marriage arrangements of the women in his nintipe'ncike'win. Because of the incest taboo, women must be sought outside a man's nintipe'ncike'win. The unmarried women who are under his control are in a sense an asset. They are given to the leaders of other nintipe'ncike'win as spouses for their followers. No goods, however, are exchanged. Marriages are desired not so much for sexual gratification, which can usually be secured casually, but rather to produce legitimate male issue to swell the ranks of a man's nintipe'ncike'win, and daughters for exchange.¹ Once a woman leaves a man's nintipe'ncike'win at marriage she becomes, as a rule, a member of her husband's or his father's nintipe'ncike'win, but on the death of her husband she returns to her brother's or father's nintipe'ncike'win to await a new distribution. Conversely, if a man's wife dies he may be supplied with a second by his father-in-law. This ideal situation tends to be breaking down. A man pointed out rather bitterly that his widowed sister had remarried without consulting him and his brothers. This was considered improper and wrong. Now, he said, she was suffering the consequences of not consulting and listening to her brothers. Her second husband died soon after their marriage, one son hanged himself, a second son married against her wishes and subsequently he and his wife became ill, and finally the family members have scattered widely.

A final point must be discussed. Because of the rather diffuse nature of the concept nintipe'ncike'win, there are several sources of conflict. Ideally, for example, two men, each leader of his own independent nintipe'ncike'win, arrange the marriage of one's son with the other's daughter. Each man may then claim the couple as members of his own nintipe'ncike'win, in which case trouble arises between the two men. Today, a man will sometimes arrange the marriage of a daughter directly with his future son-in-law without consulting the latter's father. A feud then starts between the two older men. A case of this nature recently occurred. The young man's father first heard of the marriage at the time of the wedding ceremony. He had been negotiating a marriage for his son with a friend who had a suitable daughter. The old man bitterly resented the course of events, and a feud started which is still carried on. This situation can exist in part because of Canadian legal principles. The consent of the young couple, if of age, is all that is required by the missionary to perform the marriage. No consideration is made of the fact that the youths are members of

1. A myth is of interest in this connection. A group of men killed the women of a neighbouring camp while their husbands were absent. The killers undressed the women, carried them to a beach, where they placed them on the sand with legs stretched apart. This clearly implies the importance attached to the reproductive function of women.

their father's nintipe'ncike'win and under his jurisdiction regardless of age. There is another way in which trouble may arise. At marriage a young man whose father is dead technically becomes a member of his father-in-law's nintipe'ncike'win. The young man may resist the dominance of his father-in-law and trouble may commence between them. This is especially likely to happen if the young couple have troubles between themselves. The girl's father automatically sides with her against her husband.

In summary, it can be said that ideally the nintipe'ncike'win consists of a group of males and dependent women who are patrilineally related, and are under the control and dominance of the eldest male. Such a unit forms a co-operative association and stands in opposition to other units with which it exchanges females. Feuds between such units arise primarily over women. A factor of some importance is bilateral cross-cousin marriage. By this means, there is a tendency for the opposition and tensions between nintipe'ncike'win of particular males to be lessened. Since the two fathers are brothers-in-law and therefore ideally close friends, they are not so apt to engage in a feud as in the case of leaders of two unrelated nintipe'ncike'win. All cases of trouble between fathers of married couples described by informants occurred between unrelated males. The most serious cases of trouble were between a man and his father-in-law who were otherwise unrelated.

VILLAGE AND COMMUNITY

Introduction:

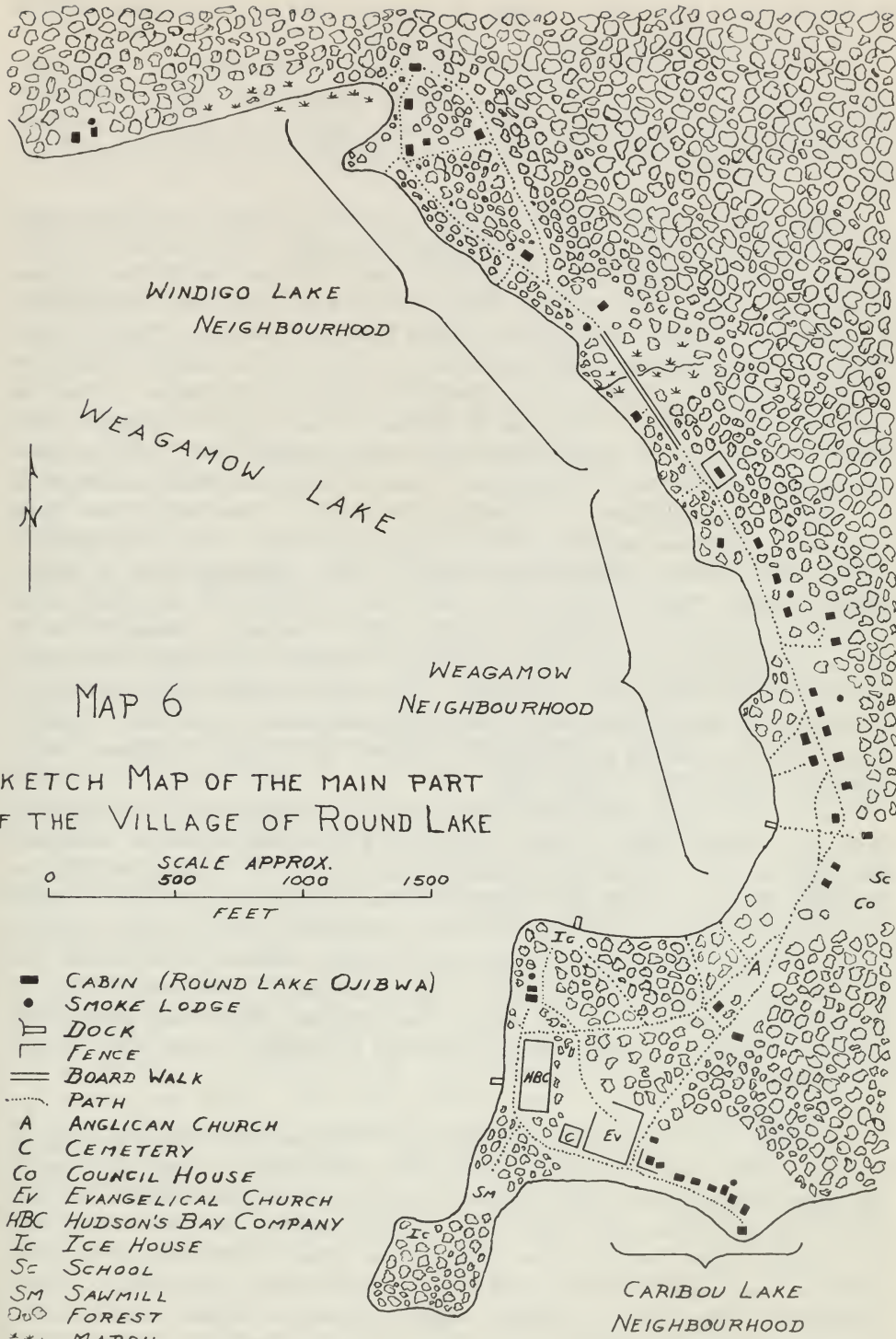
As the activity of Government officials, traders, and missionaries increased, radical changes took place in the social organization, economics, and religion of the Round Lake Ojibwa. An important change was the disappearance of band organization. About 1929 when the first Treaty was signed with the people, a single chief was appointed to administer the whole area. As has been pointed out previously, there were at this time four or five distinct bands within this area, each with its own leader. With the appointment of a chief for all of them, a breakdown in the indigenous band authority structures began. The bands were drawn together, at first because of the yearly Treaty gathering and later because of the additional impetus of the trading post, Government institutions and churches at Weagamow Lake. As this occurred the old band leaders lost their positions, and the bands began to lose their individuality. Their members remained in the village of Round Lake for longer and longer periods of time, thereby increasing social inter-action and reducing the feelings of band exclusiveness. Inter-marriage among them seems to have increased, at the expense of inter-marriage with bands on the periphery of the total area. Although changes in economic structures had begun to occur before 1949 when the Hudson's Bay Company built its post on Weagamow Lake, these were from now on rapidly accentuated. The hunting group¹ began to break down, the nuclear family became more independent and important, and a system of trapping partnerships began to develop. With social and economic changes there were alterations in the religious system. Christianity entered the region perhaps twenty-five years ago. It was introduced by native preachers and was at first an addition to, rather than a replacement of, the old religion. It was not until 1921 that a Euro-Canadian missionary settled at Big Trout Lake. At first his influence was slight in the Round Lake Area but with time it increased, and today missionary endeavour by several Christian sects has become rather intense and has introduced certain changes in the religious organization of the people. Former overt religious behavior and certain religious structures have been displaced by the Christian church. Nevertheless, much of the old belief system remains, re-interpreted to some extent in terms of Christian belief.

The Village:

The village of Round Lake is referred to as ninta'win ("my home") or the chief's otipe'ncike'win ("that which the chief is in charge of"). The term ninto'te'na' ("my town") refers not to the village of Round Lake but large towns and cities outside like Sioux Lookout, Kenora and Winnipeg.

The village is strung out along the north shore of Weagamow Lake (Map 6). There is a total of forty-six cabins within the village, one of which is infrequently inhabited.² At certain times of the year four tents are occupied. The majority of the inhabitants live within an area approximately one mile in extent. Several homes are located three to four miles from the centre of the village and a few others at lesser distances. In all, nine homes are outside the main part of the village.³ The homes, except those outside the main part of the village,

1. See Hunting Group - Winter Camp pp 000 ff.
2. Informants stated that in 1949 there were only four houses in the village occupied by wa'wiye'kama' families.
3. This dispersed type of village is found in the western part of Ontario, encompassing Cat Lake, Sandy Lake, Sachigo, and Osnaburg. More compact



are linked together by wide paths. The cabins are generally set back from the shoreline anywhere from perhaps one hundred to several hundred feet, along the top of a low sandy ridge, except at the north end of the village; here the land is rocky and the soil heavy and poorly drained.

The homes tend to be segregated into three "neighbourhoods." The distance between each is not over a few hundred yards at the most. Within each neighbourhood, the houses are relatively close together, in most cases a few hundred feet apart or less; some are as close together as fifteen to twenty-five feet.

These neighbourhoods equate roughly with the old bands of atihkopi'wininiwak, wa'wiye'kama'wininiwak, and wi'ntiko'wininiwak. At the north end of the village are found people from the Windigo Lake Sub-area, the centre contains the majority of the people from the Weagamow Lake Sub-area, and the south end of the village is composed entirely of people from the Sub-area of Caribou Lake. These neighbourhoods form social units only to a very limited extent. They have no official leaders, and only in the case of the Caribou Lake people is there an unofficial leader. Even in this case, he has no real power and is respected more because of his age and genial disposition than anything else. None of these neighbourhoods enter into any economic, social, or religious affairs exclusive of the others, although there is a tendency for Windigo Lake people and close neighbours to become members of the Evangelical church. Yet living near one another and exploiting trapping territories in close proximity gives a certain feeling of unity. This is reflected in several ways. Firstly, the chief and councilors each come from a different neighbourhood. Secondly, teenage boys of the same neighbourhood go around together. Thirdly, the Evangelical church movement spread first among the Windigo Lake people and then among the southern Weagamow families, who were close village neighbours of the first. Finally, troubles appear to occur more frequently between individuals of different neighbourhoods than within the same one.

Near the south end of the village the Euro-Canadians and their establishments are centred. Here is found the Hudson's Bay Company store, warehouse and dwelling with subsidiary facilities. Nearby is the Evangelical mission consisting of a church and two houses, and the Anglican mission with a church and a small rectory. In this area are two ice houses and a saw-mill. One ice house is Government property and the other privately owned by a fish buyer who also has an unoccupied house here. A third ice house, Government owned, is located across the bay. To the north of the Anglican mission and farther back from the shore is the new council house and the school house with attached living quarters.

The Community:

Although the Round Lake Ojibwa refer to themselves as atihkopiškonikan (Caribou Lake Band), based on their Treaty affiliations, or wa'wiye'kama'wininiwak (Round Lake People) based on the location of their village, the community is a very loosely knit social unit. It rarely operates as a unit even though the members view themselves as distinct from other communities in the area, partly on what they believe to be linguistic differences, and from the Euro-Canadians. There is no effective overall authority structure, there are few social gatherings encompassing all or nearly all of the people, and they do not villages are found to the north and east at Bearskin, Big Trout Lake, Casabanaca, and Big Beaverhouse. The village of Round Lake is on the boundary of the two types.

unite in any economic or religious undertakings. There are cliques, but of constantly shifting membership depending upon the issues which have brought them together.

The present day political organization of the community was established by the Indian Affairs Branch. It consists of a chief, okima'hka'n ("boss-like" or "substitute-boss") and two councilors, increased to three in 1959. These officials are chosen by elections. It is of interest to note that in 1958 the chief was from the Caribou Lake Sub-area and the councilors one each from Weagamow and Windigo Lake Sub-areas thereby following the old band divisions. In 1959 the new chief was from Weagamow sub-area and the councilors one each from Weagamow, Caribou and Windigo Lakes Sub-areas, again following band divisions.

The elected chief of today forms a sharp contrast to the band leader of former days. The transition appears to have occurred rather gradually over the past thirty years. The first two chiefs were former band leaders. These two men had considerably more power to regulate community affairs than the present day chiefs. Their position was maintained in part through sanctions formerly held, and the prestige initially gained through contact with Euro-Canadians. They looked after orphans, in some instances arranged marriages of widowers, attempted to settle family quarrels, saw to it that those in trouble were aided, warned those endangered by witchcraft, sometimes operated a camp trade, distributed meat to the whole village, and brought the people together for Treaty.

Today many of these duties have been taken over by other individuals, either Ojibwa or Euro-Canadian. Formerly, the roles of shaman and band leader were often linked, but today these positions have been separated.¹ Although witchcraft is still prevalent the chief has little or no power to deal with it. This function has been undertaken by native preachers. They also sometimes enter into the settlement of family disputes, and the arrangements for remarriages of widows. They may be consulted regarding community troubles. Although they attempt to settle problems, at times their interference is resented. Euro-Canadians administer the care of orphans, deal with problems of marriage, aid those in need, and handle directly the major amount of trade transacted.

The chief no longer has the multiplicity of duties he once had. Today his major function is to regulate and control community actions, but the chief and councilors lack any real control over the actions of members of the community. Although theoretically they are responsible for the enforcement of order within the community, many cases clearly show that they lack the authority. For example, a boy was found drinking by the chief, who immediately took him home. The boy's father told the chief to leave his son alone, that the chief had no right to interfere. A married woman was having affairs with various men while her husband was away. The chief wanted to send her to her husband, but the woman's brother-in-law, a councilor, sided with her and said the chief had no right to interfere in this matter. A teenage boy attempted to rape a married woman. The woman wanted the case taken to the chief, but her husband decided against this, because it would merely cause more trouble. Instead, he took the case to the boy's brother and the boy himself. The chief raised his flag on repeated occasions as a summons to a meeting but no one appeared. The teenage boys engaged in drinking parties and the seduction of girls. The parents deplored these episodes and felt the chief and councilors should stop them but

1. A native preacher when approached by several men of the village and asked if he was willing to become chief said that he could not conduct both roles at the same time and he preferred to remain a preacher.

these officials were powerless since the boys' parents would immediately defend their children. The chief even lacks authority among the people of his own neighbourhood.

The chief and councilors have power only when an offender is with few or no relatives, either an orphan or an immigrant. In such cases, the chief can bring pressures to bear by taking the culprit before Euro-Canadian authorities. The case of an extremely anti-social young man was taken to the authorities with the request that he be removed from the community. The man had no close relatives except his mother, but she could not speak, having lost her voice at the time of her husband's death. In another case, an immigrant has been continually badgered by the chief for various offenses and made to change some of his ways. This man fears the chief and goes so far as not to smoke in front of him as he does not approve of the practice.

Several factors are responsible for the present status of chief. Today a chief who attempts to control the actions of community members does not have the necessary religious and/or economic sanctions to enforce conformance throughout the community. In this respect the various church movements cannot be ignored since a chief belonging to one church may be resented by members of another church. Finally, due to Euro-Canadian contacts new attitudes, values, and motives have seeped into the community and these often conflict with the old ones still firmly held. The outcome is that the people often resent a chief for interference in their affairs since they may evaluate the situation on the basis of different premises. They may blame him, as chief, for conflicts in which they become involved, since it is expected that he will see that community affairs run smoothly. Only when the chief has community approval will his orders be obeyed, but due to the above conditions this rarely occurs.

Perhaps several cases will make the situation clear. Chastity and adultery on the part of the men was previously of little concern, and the elders still hold this view in regard to their own actions. On the other hand, the Christian attitude demanding chastity before marriage and faithfulness after marriage has permeated the thinking of the people. Although freedom in sex relations is condemned by some, others are unable to set an example. A chief who still practices the old ways cannot command obedience to the new attitude in others. They merely resent interference on his part.

The Fundamentalist movement does not approve of dancing, drinking, smoking, and card playing. The chief and the community at first adopted these precepts rather wholeheartedly. The chief was able to enforce these measures with considerable success due to the backing given him by the church and the acceptance of the majority of the people. In time the movement lost force; smoking, drinking, and card playing revived and are steadily increasing at present. The people engage in these practices behind the chief's back and, when he criticizes them, they resent him for doing so. Since the chief is no longer able to enforce these prohibitions his prestige has been further lowered.

The chief is often accused of constantly changing his mind¹ and no doubt he does, as several cases seem to indicate. He is thought to be a bad chief on this account, but it is not recognized that this is hardly his fault. The attempt to balance conflicting attitudes, motives, and beliefs produces the same result in the rest of the adults, but the chief has become a symbol and scapegoat for their own discontent and insecurity. The previous discussion suggests that

1. The chief is not the only individual so accused but is the one most frequently isolated for comment.

today no overall authority structure exists in the community of Round Lake. Lack of coherence and direction are also true of other aspects of community organization.

The community engages in little economic co-operation.¹ There are neither communal hunts nor trapping expeditions. Fishing is the affair of no more than two or three men acting together. Even in these cases each man owns his own equipment and fishes for himself. They merely share a canoe and motor, owned usually by one of the partners, whom the others supply with gas or a little money. When the men attempt to organize commercial fishing on their own initiative, dissatisfaction among the fishermen soon sets in, cliques form, and overall co-operation ceases.² Hard words are apt to pass between individuals of different cliques. The cutting of logs for the sawmill never includes more than six to ten men under the leadership of one man, but even in these cases each man works for himself; there is no pooling of the profits acquired. Each man works no longer than he wishes. Only in the distribution of meat of big game is the entire, or nearly the entire, community involved. In one case recorded, a hunter distributed moose meat to no less than thirty-one of nearly fifty households present in the community at the time. This is changing, and more and more moose meat is being sold.

There are very few social occasions in which the entire community participates. During 1958-59 several community feasts were held. There were two Christmas feasts, one New Year's feast, and an Easter feast. A number of the adults present in the village, including the chief, make the necessary arrangements and contribute food. One man even sent moose meat by his son to the Easter feast since he was remaining in the bush during this event. Usually the feast starts at noon, but not all the people gather at the same time. Many remain away, only wandering over later in the afternoon to pick up a bite to eat and then be on their way. Adults and teenagers are alike in this respect. Although the chief tends to organize and run these feasts, there are occasions when Euro-Canadians usurp his position. The food for one Christmas feast is donated by Euro-Canadians, a gesture meant to indicate their good intentions. The Round Lake Ojibwa interpret the gesture as irritatingly patronizing. Accordingly, there is a second Christmas feast which the Ojibwa say is for themselves. The church services provide the opportunity for frequent social interaction in addition to their religious functions.

No longer is the community unified through one Christian church. Although for many years the Anglican church was the only Christian religious organization in the area, in the early 1950's the Northern Canada Evangelical Mission was established in the village. For the first years, it was under the guidance of Euro-Canadian missionaries but later it was left relatively untended by outsiders. During this time it developed indigenously, and today operates as an almost autonomous religious structure, with most of its affairs being handled by

1. This does not take into account the transfer of goods which link people together.
2. This is true in their attempts to deal with fish buyers. It is not true for the organization needed to care for the fish during the summer months when the fish must be kept iced. During 1958 this duty was with only minor upsets carried out most efficiently.

native preachers.¹ At present, the community is split roughly in half between the two churches. The people of Windigo Lake Sub-area and the southern families of the Weagamow Lake Sub-area belong to the Evangelical church while the northern families of the Weagamow Sub-area and all but a very few of those of the Caribou Lake Sub-area are still Anglican. In actual practice this split occurs only when both churches are operating. The Anglican church is closed for most of the winter and in consequence, most members of the community join in the services held at the Evangelical church. Although religion is important to the people, the finer distinctions in doctrine are not generally recognized so that the majority of adults can attend services at either church with a clear conscience and untroubled thoughts. In fact many would be willing to join both churches if they were allowed to. While this is true for the majority of the population, there are a few who take church membership seriously and clearly distinguish between the two churches and their doctrines. These individuals take a firm stand, and at times the two factions are in active opposition, thereby tending to diminish community cohesion. A few have a strong missionary zeal and frequently try to convert members of the opposite church. This is met with resentment in those approached, who condemn the practice vehemently.

A factor of some importance today in strengthening community solidarity is contact with Euro-Canadians. In some cases, few at present, policies and actions instituted by the whites have moulded a common opinion among members of the community. They may be in opposition or in favor of the actions of the whites, but in either case they have found a rallying point. In most cases, this lasts only a very short time. When opposition to the whites occurs, several individuals frequently attempt to remedy the situation independently and each may gain a few followers. These cliques then instigate a form of competition between themselves with occasional hard feelings resulting. The cliques and their membership are forever changing and no permanent associations have as yet formed. Cases of this nature appear to develop more readily in the economic sphere where there have been grievances against traders and fish buyers. Several men at one time or another have tried to compete with the Hudson's Bay Company by dealing directly with other traders or with a variety of fish buyers. When several operations are underway simultaneously troubles usually occur. In one case, a man acting as agent for a fish buyer needed more fish for a load. He approached another man who at the time was fishing for a different buyer but had extra fish. He angrily refused, saying that no one had helped him when he was trying to start a store for a trader in the village. These two men were frequently in opposition since each was trying to establish himself as a business man and leader in the community.

In summary it might be said that the community of Round Lake is a weakly structured unit held together by cultural traditions, ties of kinship, and a feeling of distinctness in contrast to other communities and to the Euro-Canadians.

1. The statements made here are true as of 1958-59. Since that date certain changes have occurred in the Evangelical church which would alter the picture.

PART III

ECONOMICS

INTRODUCTION

This part of the report is devoted to the economic organization and activities of the Round Lake Ojibwa. The material is organized from the point of view of production, distribution, and consumption of goods. Production covers such activities as fishing, hunting, trapping, lumbering, manufacturing, game dressing, and the preparation and preservation of foods. Distribution deals with the various forms of property held by the Round Lake Ojibwa, and how it is transferred from individual to individual. Consumption, about which there is the least to say, is concerned with the social units which actually dissipate the goods acquired through production and distribution.

The economic system of the Round Lake Ojibwa is relatively simple. Each household is practically a self-contained unit within which production, distribution, and consumption take place. That it is not completely self-contained is due to the fact that each household is linked with others through the operation of kinship. In addition, households are linked through money transactions which sometimes extend beyond the limits of kinship. Finally, each household, because of a money economy, is linked with various structures in Canadian society external to the community of Round Lake.

The economy of the Round Lake Ojibwa is mixed, consisting of a subsistence economy and extractive industries. The subsistence economy is concerned primarily with the direct production of food for household consumption. The extractive industries are, of course, interlocked with the Canadian economy and consist primarily of fur and fish production.

To understand the economic organization of the Round Lake Ojibwa it is important to consider carefully their environment, social organization, and religion. The economic life of the people represents a multiple adjustment to these factors as well as to historical developments resulting from contact with Euro-Canadians. There has been some tendency to consider economics primarily in terms of its relation to the physical environment alone. The environment, however, is not a determinant of economic organization - rather it sets certain limits within which the economic system operates. Within these limits the system can vary, and considerable variation has occurred at Weagamow Lake within the past sixty years. Certain shifts have resulted from changes in technology; others have resulted from the introduction of a money economy. On the other hand, there have been certain aspects of the economic system which have remained stable, even with these additions, due to persisting cultural traditions.

The economy of the Round Lake Ojibwa is intimately related to their social organization. Every economic activity has its social components - two men trap and hunt together, a man gives the moose he kills to his father-in-law for distribution, or a family co-operates in some economic task. The social aspects of economics are primarily oriented along the lines of kinship, but this is tending to alter at the present time. With the introduction and use of money, non-relatives interact more often with one another through rents paid for the use of goods, the direct purchase of goods, or the employment of others for pay. Nevertheless, the economic system of the people operates within the framework of their social organization and cannot be divorced from it.

Religious beliefs and attitudes influence the economics of the Round Lake Ojibwa, but not to as great an extent as formerly. Certain rites should be performed if more game is to be secured, for instance, or a man may decide that it is no use trapping since the animals are offended for some reason. Religious beliefs and attitudes also influence economics in an indirect way, through their effects on the social organization.

In summary, it can be said that the economic system of the Round Lake Ojibwa can only be understood in terms of the total cultural and historical setting.

YEARLY CYCLE

Introduction:

Most, if not all, economic activities are conducted on a seasonal basis. Consequently it is necessary to give a sketch of the yearly cycle so that each activity can be seen in proper perspective. The Round Lake Ojibwa recognize and name different periods of the year (ahki'win) which conform roughly to their seasonal activities. Although the year was formerly divided into roughly nine periods, today only four are in common use (Fig. 10). These conform rather closely to the Euro-Canadian system. In order to discuss the yearly activities of the Round Lake Ojibwa a series of more or less arbitrary periods have been selected. These are five in number: Summer, Fall, Early Winter, Late Winter, and Spring. Summer encompasses the months of June, July, August, and the first part of September; Fall, the rest of September and most of October; Early Winter from the end of October until Christmas; Late Winter from the first of the year until the latter part of March or early April; and Spring from April until the end of May or early June. There is no single economic activity which characterizes any one period. Rather, each period is separated on the basis of particular combinations of activities and thier intensity (Fig. 11).

Summer:

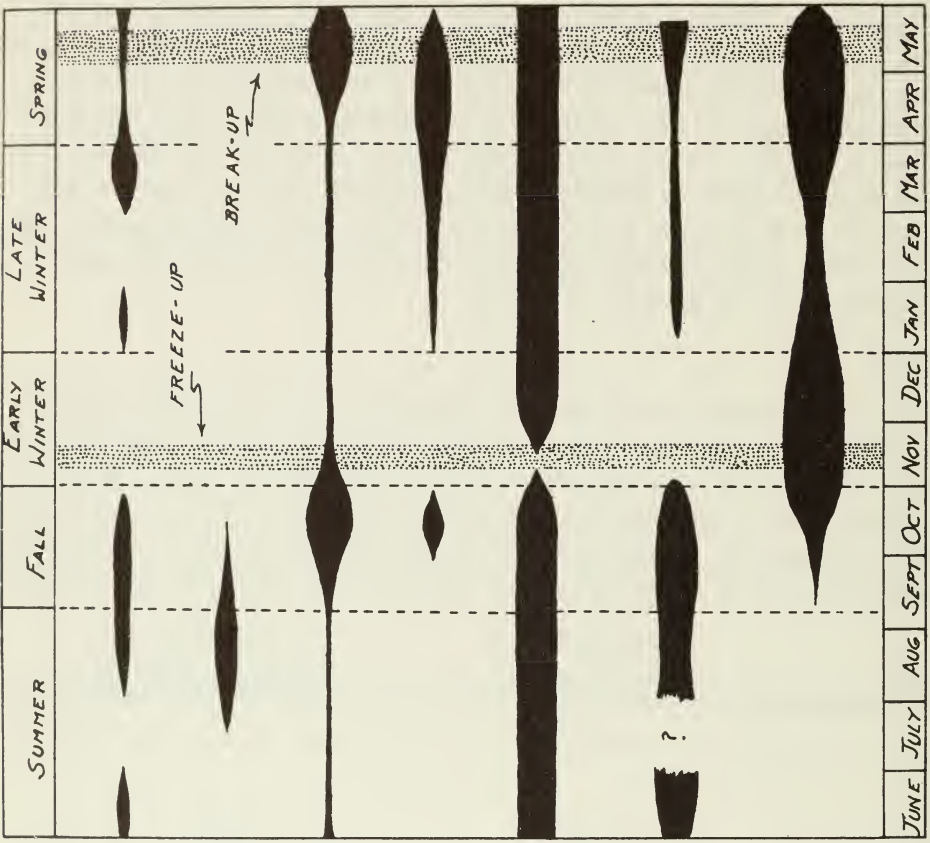
The summer period can be thought of as starting at the end of May or early in June when most members of the Round Lake Community have gathered at the village of Round Lake. A motive for coming together at this time of year is the the arrival of the Treaty party the first part of June to pay Treaty, listen to complaints, give medical examinations, and on occasion hold elections. Most of the people now remain in the village of Round Lake for the remainder of the summer.

Month	Periods Named by the Ojibwa	Periods Based on Economic Activities
June		
July		
August	<u>ni'pin</u>	Summer
September		
October	<u>takwa'kin</u>	Fall
November	(freeze-up)	
December		Early Winter
January		
February	<u>pipo'n</u>	Late Winter
March		
April		
May	<u>si'kwan</u>	Spring
	(break-up)	

Fig. 10 - Seasons of the Year, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-59.

This season is a time of moderate activity. The people relax after the win-

PERIODS



MONTHS

GOVERNMENT WORK
 COLLECTING
 FOWLING
 HUNTING
 SUBSISTENCE FISHING
 COMMERCIAL FISHING
 TRAPPING

FIG. 11 - ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES BY MONTH AND INTENSITY, ROUND LAKE OJIBWA, 1958-1959

ter's work. Commercial fishing is the most important economic pursuit especially during early and late summer. During mid-summer fishing decreases either because the price of fish drops, discouraging fish buyers from coming to Weagamow Lake, or because the enthusiasm of the fishermen decreases. Commercial fishing is men's work, and women rarely engage in it. The men leave early in the day to tend their nets and usually return by mid-morning.

Commercial fishing does not consume a great deal of the men's time, but there are not many additional activities for them to engage in. A few men make various items of material culture such as snowshoes and canoe paddles, but generally this is not done until fall approaches. A never-ending task is the collecting of firewood. Even during the summer some wood is needed every day if only for cooking. The men do a large part of this work, but it does not necessitate much labour. Other activities that they engage in during the summer are the cutting of logs for the sawmill and working there during the infrequent times when it is running. A few men in the village act as local carpenters usually for pay, but work is never steady. There is no effort made to capture much game during the summer. The killing of birds and animals is limited to those encountered when engaged in some other pursuit such as fishing.

During the summer, the women are busy during the mornings and sometimes the afternoons at their normal year-round tasks. They must care for the children, prepare meals, do laundry, clean their homes, draw water, and saw and split firewood. At times they make moccasins. The one characteristic task of the women during the summer months is the dressing and drying of fish and the preparation of fish powder for domestic use. Although the custom appears to be decreasing, one can still observe the fires started every morning under the drying racks or in the smoke lodges at a number of households. Here the fish are dried and then later made into fish powder. In August and September some women and many children make excursions to pick the quantities of berries now ripening. Bilberries are perhaps the most important. Fewer berries are collected today than in the past, and most are consumed immediately.

For the greater part of the day there is not a great deal of activity to be seen in the village. The men frequently gather at the store where they joke and talk with one another. Occasionally a man is seen sitting with his family by his house. In the afternoon the women may be seen outside sitting in groups of two to four, talking. There are no forms of recreation for the adults and time appears to hang heavy on their hands. A form of diversion is the occasional arrival of a plane, the only contact with the outside world besides the radio. Whenever a plane appears on the horizon everyone instantly becomes alert, and as it approaches the village men, women and children head for the landing where it will moor. The men gather at the dock to watch the plane arrive and be unloaded. The women, girls, and small children gather at a respectful distance of from one hundred to two hundred feet on either side of the dock to watch the proceedings. After the plane has been unloaded and the goods carried into the store everyone eagerly enters to see what has been delivered.

With the approach of fall activities increase. Equipment is made, and repairs, such as the recanvassing of canoes, undertaken. Large quantities of firewood are collected, and cabins banked and weatherproofed in readiness for the

coming winter. Special hunting trips are made now that waterfowl are beginning to return from the north and pine¹ have reached adult size. In addition, moose are sought. On the other hand, commercial fishing ceases, except for a few diehards. Occasionally medicinal plants are gathered, the most important being inkwe'-wašk. Plans are now made for the trapping season, and the move to the winter camps.

Fall:

Fall, in the restricted meaning of the word as employed in this paper, is a time of activity and travel for a number of the inhabitants of the village of Round Lake. First, preparations are made for the movement to the winter camps where trapping and hunting are to be undertaken. Limited quantities of food and equipment are secured at the store. Major items are traps, shells, and snare wire. Little food is needed, since the people can secure large amounts from the country. Furthermore, the men can easily return to the village for more supplies at almost any time, since no great distances are involved. Finally, the amount of credit that can be obtained to buy goods from the traders is quite small.

Approximately one-half of the Round Lake Ojibwa leave the village and move into the bush to winter camps. Those who do not leave conduct their economic activities from the village. Departures for the winter camps take place during a period of several weeks. During 1958 the people left the village between the latter part of September and the first part of November (Fig. 12). The rather protracted period of departure is in part a function of the variable distances to the winter camps, the means of transportation, and differing patterns of behavior of the peoples of different sub-areas. Those trappers whose winter camps are the farthest away tend to leave first but only if they travel by canoe. When travel is by plane the distance to the winter camp is no factor. Of approximately twenty-five departures, no less than five were by plane. Furthermore, there tend to be sub-area differences. The Caribou Lake people, in general, leave the first part of October while the Windigo Lake people,¹ who have no farther to travel, leave the latter part of October. This is correlated with the fact that the Caribou Lake people are usually accompanied by their families and travel more slowly, than the Windigo Lake men who leave their families in the village and accordingly travel faster. The Weagamow trappers who exploit the area immediately surrounding the village do not leave until the end of October or early November, and then only to set their traps and return. They do not generally establish winter camps.

Distance, transportation facilities, weather conditions, and composition of the group all determine the length of time necessary to reach a winter camp. The most distant camps (Ochek Lake) necessitate a trip of a week if the men are accompanied by their families and travel by canoe. If the women and children remain in the village the trip takes only three days. To reach Caribou and Windigo Lakes two days are required if the weather is good, less if the families are not present. If winter camps are located in the vicinity of Weagamow Lake only a couple of hours are needed to reach them. There are two major routes of travel

1. This excludes for the moment the inhabitants of Ochek Lake.

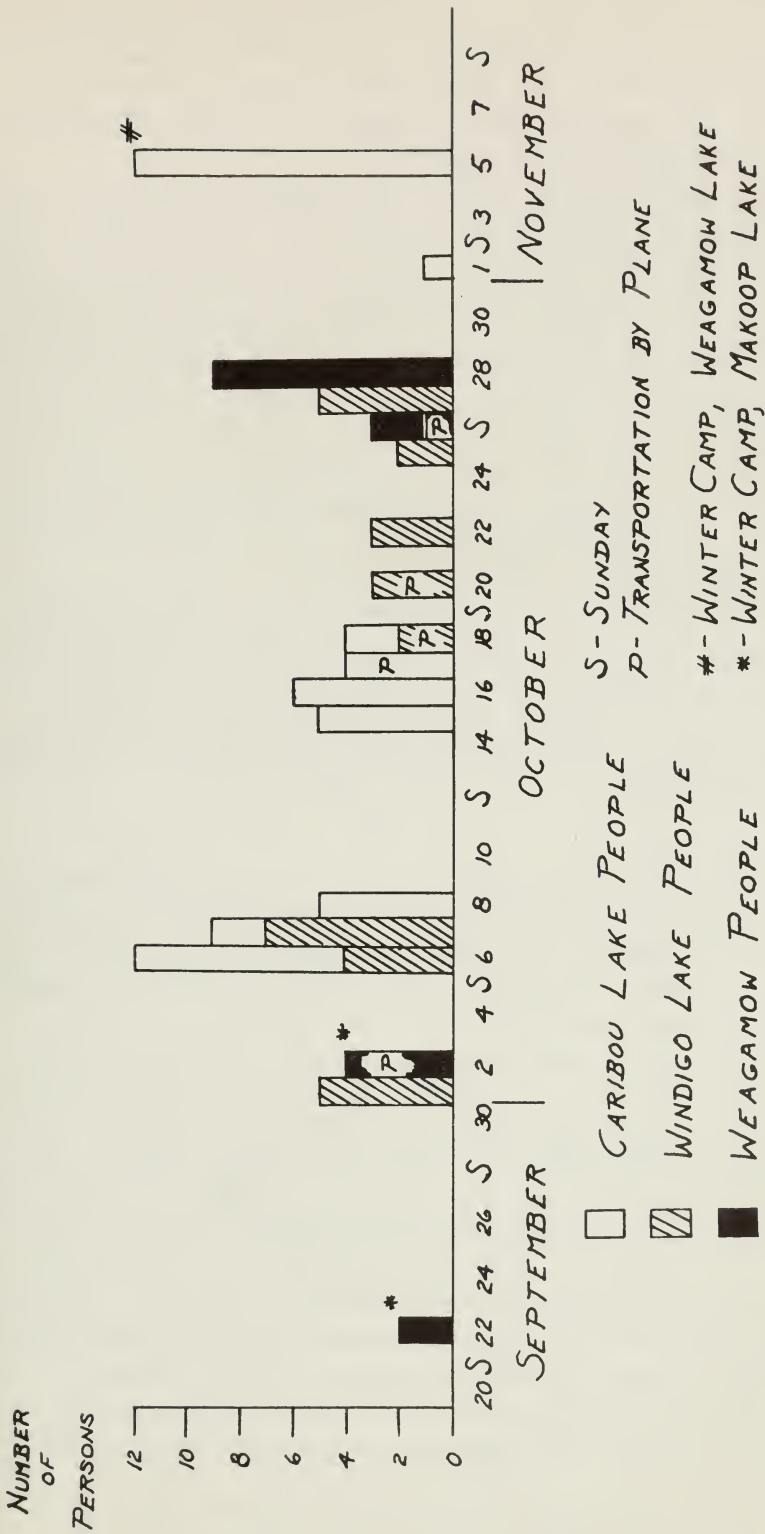


FIG 12 - NUMBER OF PERSONS AND DATE OF DEPARTURE FOR WINTER CAMPS, ROUND LAKE OJIBWA, 1958

which follow the rivers and lakes - one leading to Caribou Lake and the other to Windigo Lake (Map 7).

Generally each household, less frequently a single trapper, travels independently of all others.¹ Only occasionally do several families travel together. When a trapper is accompanied by his family stops are frequently made at favourable fishing sites. Here fish are caught and dried for future use. In addition, waterfowl are hunted from these travel camps.

Most trappers, with or without families, who establish winter camps have done so by the latter part of September or early October.² For those men accompanied by their families there is a great deal of work to be done. If they are short of fish at the time of arrival, nets are immediately set. The fish secured are used to feed themselves and their dogs. After this the camp is put in order. During good weather the yard is raked, the debris burned, the cabins chinked outside and firewood gathered. When it storms work is performed inside the home. During calm weather, the men make excursions by canoe of from a few hours to a day to hunt ducks, geese, and loons. They may search for pine and occasionally snare a few hares. With the advent of snow, day long trips are made into the bush in search of moose. Bear and caribou, on the other hand, are rarely killed at this time of year, and then only incidentally to other pursuits.

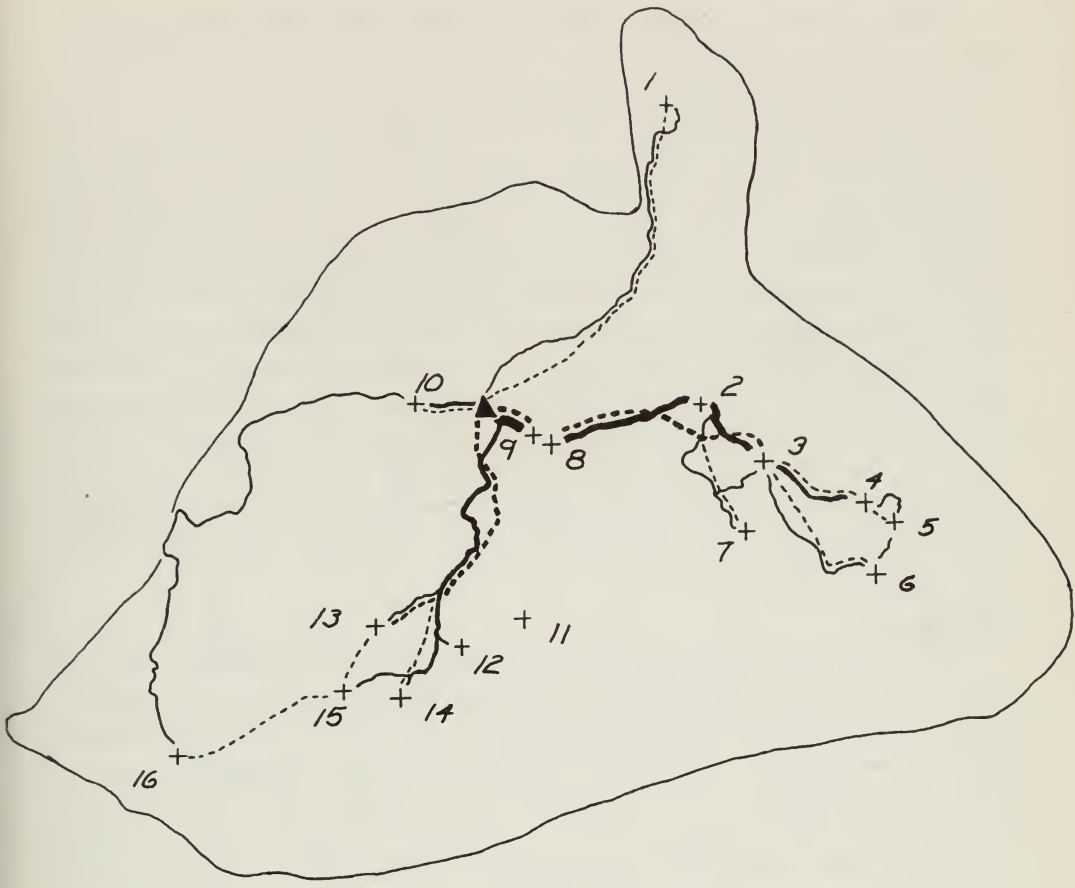
Perhaps the most important activity conducted before freeze-up by the Round Lake Ojibwa, both in the bush and in the village, is fishing. This is done in order to have on hand an extra supply of fish for food and trap bait for the period of freeze-up when no nets can be set. The fish are dried in smoke lodges or on outside racks, for human consumption. Fish for dog food and trap bait is merely hung outside on cache racks.

Early Winter:

Fall draws to a close near the end of October or at the beginning of November and so a new period of activity commences - Early Winter. At this time the forms of transportation change. During November canoes are removed from the water and stored on racks. Toboggans and snowshoes are now the only means of travel, except for planes, until spring.

During November and December trapping of fur bearers for sale is the major and almost sole economic activity. Mink and, to a lesser extent, beaver are the major animals sought. The actual commencement of trapping depends a good deal on the weather. If the weather has been cool, trapping can start earlier than if it has been warm. As a rule, traps are first set between the middle and the end of October. The men, usually in pairs, leave their homes located either in the village or bush and make a circuit of their trapping territory setting traps. Steel traps are most numerous but a few deadfalls are still constructed. The men are away for from one to three weeks. On their return to camp they remain there for a week or more collecting firewood and tending fish nets. Sometimes they make day trips setting a few traps in the vicinity of camp. At the end of a week to ten days the men leave again, this time to check their traps. They are usually

1. See Hunting Group - Winter Camp in Social Organization pp B74FF for information regarding the composition of the groups who reside in the bush.
2. See Map 8 for location and number of people at winter camps.



MAP 7

WINTER CAMPS AND ROUTES OF TRAVEL
 ROUND LAKE OJIBWA, 1958-1959

ROUTES OF TRAVEL

- SUMMER (CANOE) - - - - WINTER (TOBOGGAN)
- + WINTER CAMP - NOV.-DEC. 1958
- ▲ VILLAGE OF ROUND LAKE

gone about a week. This sequence of a week or so on the traplines and then a week or so in camp is continued until the middle or latter part of December. Besides the trapping of fur bearers, snares are set for hares wherever tracks are discovered, and pine are shot whenever seen. Attempts to secure big game are desultory.

Those trappers who operate from winter camps in the bush usually make at least one trip back to the village before Christmas to sell their furs and obtain a few more supplies. Only those at the extreme borders of the area do not do so.

With the approach of Christmas all those people living in the bush get ready to return to the village either by plane or by dog team. They begin to arrive at Weagamow Lake about the middle of December and by the 24th of the month most of the population is again settled in the village. A few trappers leave their families in the bush, and occasionally a trapper himself stays away at this time. In 1958 not more than twenty to twenty-five people remained in the bush during the Christmas season. From the latter part of December to the first part of January no trapping is done. This is a time of resting and visiting. Only those tasks are undertaken which are absolutely necessary, such as getting firewood and occasionally tending fish nets. Although there is little economic activity at this time, few forms of recreation are engaged in. Small feasts are held at Christmas and New Year, and occasionally the adults and children go tobogganing. There is nothing else except among the teenage boys, who engage in frequent parties at night.

Late Winter:

The period of Late Winter starts just after New Year's and lasts until the latter part of March or early April. This is the most difficult period of the year to hunt, fish, trap, and perform other outdoor activities because of the intense cold, the seclusion of game, and the difficulty of travel. Nevertheless, when the Christmas holidays end, economic activities again increase. Some trappers, with or without their families, return to their trapping territories, but not as many as in Early Winter. Many travel by plane; others by dog team. In the latter case, two days or more are needed to reach the farthest winter camps. Some of the individuals who return to their winter camps remain there. Others merely examine their traps and immediately return to the village. Those who do not move back to their winter camps occasionally borrow a trapline from someone who has a trapping territory adjacent to the village and share it with the owner. If they do not do this they may continue to exploit their own trapping territories, but commute from the village. Although trapping is still carried on during this period fewer men are engaged and traps are less frequently examined. Much more time is spent about camp. The reason given by informants for not trapping more intensively at this time of year is that the fur bearers now remain under cover because of the cold weather and are therefore very difficult to secure.

Some hunting is done during January, February, and March. Moose are sought but their capture is difficult and at this time of year dogs cannot be used to pursue them. Caribou are sometimes secured during periods of stormy weather. Bear generally are not taken since they are in hibernation and difficult to locate. Occasionally trips are made after pine, but only when it is not snowing as they are then hard to capture. The snaring of hares on the other hand, is a major



MAP 8

WINTER CAMPS AND OCCUPANTS, ROUND LAKE
OJIBWA, NOV.-DEC. 1958

- ▲ VILLAGE OF ROUND LAKE
- / NUMBER OF TRAPPERS PER TERRITORY
- REPRESENTS ONE TRAPPER
- REPRESENTS ONE WOMAN OR CHILD
- + WINTER CAMP

occupation. More are caught at this time of year than at any other. Snares are set in a circuit extending out from camp for as much as two to three miles. A dog team is used for this work and the snares may be examined every day.

The netting of fish for food is carried on during the Late Winter period. At first the catches are small and it is difficult work because of the steadily increasing thickness of the ice, and the cold and windy weather. Starting in January a little commercial fishing may be done but because of the small catches that can be made few men undertake this work. As the winter advances the catches increase in size, and more and more men start fishing. During 1959 some men even moved to Caribou Lake for commercial fishing. Nevertheless, fishing is not as intensively engaged in during this period as at other times of the year.

During the period of Late Winter, ice is cut on Government order and stored in ice houses in preparation for commercial fishing during the coming summer. Only a few men, as a rule, are employed in this work. Ice houses are filled at Weagamow, Windigo, and Caribou Lakes and in 1959 at Seeseep and Eyapamikama Lakes. Besides the cutting and storing of ice a few men cut logs for the sawmill. The logs are carted to the shore where they are stacked to await open water and easy transportation to the sawmill. Near the end of winter in 1959 several men were employed by the Government to work on the council house which had been under construction for some time.

Spring:

Spring can be said to begin during the latter part of March and early April when the temperatures start to rise above freezing. The Spring period lasts until the end of May or the beginning of June. This is a time of renewed life for the Round Lake Ojibwa. Warmth, vegetation and the birds will soon return and once again life will be easy.

Near the end of March a few trappers and their families return to their winter camps. More follow during April and by the first part of May the village is practically deserted. Even those men who hunt and trap in the immediate vicinity of the village and who have remained with their families in the village all winter move with them into the bush. They may go only a few miles, but there is a great desire at this time of the year to leave the village. People are seized with a holiday spirit. Those families who have remained in the bush all winter move from their winter camps and establish new sites a few miles away. Generally these are established close to places where the ice is first to disappear, so that fish nets can be easily set. In addition, it is here that waterfowl gather as they migrate northward and can be easily taken.

At the commencement of this period travel is still by snowshoe and toboggan.¹ Later as the weather becomes warmer the snow thaws and settles. At night when the temperature drops below freezing a crust forms on the top of the snow. This most frequently occurs during April. Under these conditions sleds

1. Frequently a plane is chartered for the move back to the winter camp if it is at any great distance from the village.

rather than toboggans are used. Snowshoes can be dispensed with on the lakes and hard packed trails. Traveling must be undertaken in the early morning while a crust remains. Later in the day the snow thaws, becomes heavy and wet, and travel is extremely difficult. As open water begins to appear along the streams, canoes are used. They are transported on sleds between the stretches of open water.

Spring is the second most intensive period of trapping and is the season for muskrat and beaver. Very few of the other species are taken, except for otter. Although steel traps are employed a large number of animals are shot with rifles and shotguns. A few are taken in deadfalls. Trapping ends the latter part of May or early June.

There is an increase in hunting at this time of year. When the proper crust forms on the snow, moose are sought. Dogs are employed if the snow is not too deep. Caribou are hunted, but never with the aid of dogs. A few pine are shot as the opportunity arises and a few hares snared or shot. Waterfowl are the major species hunted. As soon as open water appears ducks and geese begin to arrive from the south. They are now in large flocks bunched together within the limited areas of open water, so that hunting them is relatively easy. This however, soon changes. By the end of May there is extensive open water and the waterfowl have dispersed, some to nest in the area and others to continue northward. Waterfowl are shot from behind blinds erected along the shore or from canoes. Occasionally decoys are used.

Subsistence fishing is not as important at this time of year since other forms of food are plentiful and relatively easy to secure, providing variety to the diet. The fish that are taken are dried or set aside for dog food. Large northern pike are occasionally shot with a 22 calibre rifle as they swim close to the shore in shallow water where they have come to spawn. Commercial fishing is normally not undertaken at this time of year. The season is closed for walleye, and whitefish generally bring too low a price to warrant the cost of transporting this species solely out of the area. In 1959 commercial fishing for walleye was engaged in intensively, and a large number of men were involved. The fish were easy to secure because they were on the spawning beds, and the price was high since they were being taken out of season. Fishing increased during April and May and was conducted at both Caribou and Weagamow Lake, but in the latter part of May the Government discovered what was happening and stopped the operation. The ban was lifted in June, and commercial fishing resumed.

Towards the end of May the people begin to move back to the village from their camps in the bush. By the end of the first week in June most, if not all, have again gathered at the village. A new yearly cycle is ready to begin.

PRODUCTION

Fishing:

Introduction: Among the Round Lake Ojibwa fishing has always been an important activity and basic to their way of life. Although it is not perhaps as time consuming as some other tasks, it provides a major source of food and income. Many Round Lake Ojibwa talk fondly of fishing in contrast to hunting and trapping, and give the appearance of genuinely enjoying this form of work.

Fish are taken both for food, and for sale to Euro-Canadians. Those for food consist principally of lake whitefish, walleye and burbot; others such as northern pike and suckers are used for trap bait and dog food. Sturgeon and lake trout, although enjoyed as food, are rarely caught. Whitefish and walleye are the major species sold, few sturgeon and even fewer lake trout being caught and sold during 1958. The equipment and techniques for taking fish are limited and are quite simple.

Fishing Equipment and Techniques: The devices employed for the capture of fish are gill net, fish trap, and .22 calibre rifle. Of all fish taken for whatever reason, approximately 95% are captured in gill nets, and the remainder are shot or taken in fish traps. Only one trap was known to have been built and used during the fall of 1958. Fishing with hooks was discontinued five to ten years ago and spears, bows and arrows and gaffs some time before that date.

Gill nets are either of commercial or of domestic manufacture. Commercial nets are obtained from the fish buyers and from Department of Indian Affairs. They are of four and a half inch stretched mesh with lead sinkers, and wood or plastic floats locally referred to as "corks". Those for sturgeon are larger. A number of gill nets are made by the women of the village. These also are of four and a half inch stretched mesh. Formerly sturgeon nets were homemade. A net shuttle and gauge, similar in type to those found throughout the eastern sub-arctic, are used in their manufacture. The shuttle and gauge are made by the men of black spruce and white birch wood respectively. Occasionally plastic shuttles are obtained from traders. Homemade nets are equipped with floats of native manufacture or commercial "corks." The latter have been in use for only the past ten years. Homemade floats are of two types depending upon the season of the year they are used. During the summer when nets are set in open water, floats are from one and a half to over two feet long, about two inches wide, and less than an inch thick. One end is an inch or less in width for a distance of several inches. Sometimes there is a notch in this section for securing the string or willow bark with which the float is tied to the net. Winter floats are shorter, rarely being over a foot long and are in general circular in cross section with a diameter of about two inches. They are tapered at one end to a diameter of about a half an inch. Near this end is a notch, as in the summer float, for the attachment of string with which the float is secured to the net. Dry slabs from the saw-mill are thought to make good net floats. Sinkers are fist-size stones picked up from the beach. They are secured to the net with string or willow bark.

The method of setting and tending gill nets differs according to the season. In open water the net is set from a canoe, one end of the net being secured to a large stone, or to a stake placed just offshore. The place is marked by a com-

mercial float, a branch, or an oil can attached to the net by a cord unless the net is secured to a stone on shore. The net is then let into the water at right angles to the shoreline. When the far end is reached it is secured to a large anchor stone, the canoe paddled forward to stretch the net taut, and the stone dropped into the water. Sometimes two nets are secured end to end.

The net is examined from a canoe, a process which takes about twenty minutes. The man (or men) starts at the shore end of the net, raising a section at a time and extracting any fish caught. As a rule the man removes the fish by hand. Sometimes he grasps the snout of the fish between his teeth, thereby leaving both hands free to work the net back over the fish's body. Occasionally a small tool ("picking hook") consisting of a small hook-shaped piece of metal inserted into the end of a short wooden handle is used to extract the fish. The strands of the net are lifted over the fins and gills and out of the mouth of the fish. After a fish is removed, or a tangle in the mesh cleared, that part of the net is dropped back into the water while a new section is pulled out by the selvage line. Simultaneously the canoe is pulled forward. In this fashion the fishermen continue to the end of the net.

The setting and tending of fish nets during the winter is much more difficult because of the cold, especially when the wind is blowing, and the greater amount of work necessary because of the ice. To set a net a series of from three to five holes, fifteen to twenty-five feet apart, is cut through the ice in a line. After the holes have been prepared, a thin pole, longer than the distance between any two of the holes, with a cord attached to the end, is pushed under the ice from one end. The pole is thrust forward from hole to hole by means of a forked stick until the last hole is reached. Here the pole is removed with the aid of a crooked stick. One end of the net is then attached to the free end of the cord. The other end of the cord is removed from the pole and pulled out from under the ice. As this is done the net is dragged into the water at the other end of the line of holes. The ends of the net are secured to stakes thrust into the lake bed or to a cord secured to a stick placed across each end hole and a stone dropped to the lake bottom.

To examine a net in winter, a process requiring about an hour, only the holes at each end are opened. A cord is then tied to the net at one end and the net taken from the water at the other end. As it is removed the fish are extracted and the net untangled if necessary. During this part of the process the fishermen works with bare hands. The examined net is spread out on the ice where it quickly freezes. If a section of net should freeze before the tangles are removed this section is replaced in the water to thaw. Instead of spreading the net out on the ice, the fisherman may fold it at one side of the retrieving hole with the sinkers on one side and the floats on the other. Alternatively, the floats may be placed at the side of the hole while the net and sinkers are dropped back into the water. Although the net does not freeze, since it is underwater, it frequently becomes tangled with the sinkers. Another method is to make a shelf of ice at one side of the hole and below water level. The net is placed on this shelf and remains under water where it cannot freeze. After the net has been examined it is returned to the water unless it is to be moved to another location or taken home to be dried. If it is to be reset the cord which is attached to the net is pulled

back under the ice and as this is done the net is guided into the hole from which it was removed. After this is done the ends of the net are secured as before.

If a wind is blowing, a windbreak is sometimes erected behind which the fisherman works while examining the net. A series of holes is cut in the ice on the windward side of the retrieving hole, in which poles are erected to which a strip of canvas is secured.

The depth at which a net is suspended depends on the time of year. During winter, nets are set in from ten to fifteen feet of water but in summer in only four to eight feet of water. This difference is based on native belief regarding the habits of the fish and the technique of capture. During the summer, fish inhabit rather shallow water along the shores but in winter they are thought to descend into deeper water and travel along the sides of drop-offs.

Nets must be properly cared for or they deteriorate quickly. During the summer nets are as a rule left in the water only three days before they are removed and dried. During winter, on the other hand, they only need to be dried every four to seven days. If nets are not frequently dried they soon deteriorate and the strands break. Nets are dried in either one of two ways. In either case, the excess water is first wrung out. The net may then be spread open over a four-sided frame or reel which is elevated in the air, or hung over a line or pole. In the latter case the net is not opened out. After the net is dry it is untangled and piled in folds with the floats on one side and the sinkers on the other, ready to be set again.

Subsistence Fishing: Subsistence fishing is engaged in throughout the year, except during freeze-up when the ice is too thick to force a canoe through and yet not safe to walk on. An attempt is made to secure enough fish for food and trap bait just before freeze-up to last throughout this period.¹

Subsistence fishing is generally a purely family (i.e. household) affair. As a rule a man and his young son do this work, at times aided by the man's wife. Sometimes she tends the nets herself, especially during the winter. No matter what time of year it is, the nets are as a rule examined in the morning, this being one of the first tasks of the day. During the fall one net, sometimes two, is set by each household whether living in the village or in the bush, and examined every day or two. Even though fishing is emphasized at this time, few nets are used since whitefish are spawning and large numbers can easily be taken. A single net may produce from fifty to 150 fish daily. At temporary camps, established by those people moving to their winter camps, gill nets are examined two or three times a day. During the winter two nets are generally set since fishing is relatively unproductive at this time of year. An attempt is made to examine the nets every few days but because of stormy weather this is not always possible. After break-up, for a few weeks only, one net is set since then the fish are moving around freely and walleye are spawning, which results in large catches. The nets are examined daily. As a rule only one net is used during the summer. It is examined every day or two.

The Round Lake Ojibwa themselves consume large quantities of fish besides feeding it to their dogs and using it for trap bait. It is estimated that

1. On October 29th, 1958 there were well over 2000 fish hanging on racks in various parts of the village, mostly whitefish and a few pike.

annually the people catch and use between 25,000 and 50,000 pounds of fish. The larger figure is probably the more accurate. This estimate is based on figures supplied by twenty-seven married men together with direct observation.

Commercial Fishing: Commercial fishing by the Round Lake Ojibwa has become economically important only during the last few years. At present it is undergoing rapid changes and what may be true today may no longer apply tomorrow. Since no stable pattern has emerged on which to base general statements, the following data refer to the period from August 1958 until June 1959.

Commercial fishing is carried on primarily by the men, two sometimes three operating as a team. Occasionally, a man works alone. The men are often closely related, although distantly related and unrelated individuals sometimes cooperate. This pattern is in sharp contrast to subsistence fishing.

The daily routine of the fishermen, whether in the village or at a fish camp, is roughly the same in summer or winter. The first thing in the morning the men, sometimes accompanied by other members of their families, leave to look at their nets and retrieve the fish. During the summer, they generally carry a large tub containing ice in which to place the fish that are to be sold. Back in camp the fish are dressed either by the men or their wives. In summer, but not in winter, the fish are then taken to an ice house where they are stored to await the arrival of a plane. In 1958, one man, aided by a second during September, took care of the fish once they were delivered to the ice house. It was his job to see that the fish were packed in tubs and loaded on the plane. He was paid by the pound by the other fishermen. He continued in charge during the winter of 1958/1959 when there was no need of his services, but was not paid by the other fishermen. He tried to get a fish buyer to pay him but as far as is known without success.

Commercial fishing is carried out during four periods - Summer, Fall, Late Winter, and Spring. Although fishing is undertaken nearly all year the numbers of men engaged at different times of the year varies greatly (Table 39). During the summer of 1958 and 1959 more than one-half of all males sixteen years of age or older were actively engaged. Large numbers continued to fish well into October and a few diehards were fishing in the first week of November. Commercial fishing then stopped and the men began trapping fur bearers. In January, a few again started fishing and continued to do so until the first part of April. The catches were small, the weather was cold, and accordingly few men were really interested. In April, with increased catches, attention was again focused on fishing, and the numbers of men involved increased. Accurate figures are not available since in May no fishing was conducted from the village. At the end of May all commercial fishing was suspended by Government order. It was resumed again in June and was engaged in throughout the summer of 1959.

Several factors influence the numbers of men engaged in commercial fishing, such as the price of fish, the presence of fish buyers, the seasonal behavior of the fish, the weather, and the trapping of fur bearers. During the Summer and Fall periods, since the weather is warm, there is no trapping, and steady and rather large catches can be made. Many then engage in fishing. During the Early Winter period, on the other hand, the men trap full-time whether they want to or not, since no one is interested in buying their fish and during freeze-up nets cannot

TABLE 39

Number and Location by Month of Men doing Commercial Fishing,
Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Location	Month											
	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J
Weagamow Lake	?	19	34	27	7	0	4	6	2	4	10	32
Caribou Lake	?	3	1	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	8
Nikip Lake	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Makoop Lake	?	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total		24	36	29	7	0	7	8	2	4*	10*	42

* Accurate figures are not available for these two months but the number of men engaged in commercial fishing was not below the figures given.

be set. During Late Winter when the catches are quite small and the weather cold, few men are really interested in fishing. With the coming of spring fish production increases and by May, when the walleye move onto the spawning beds, very large catches can be made. Because of this and in 1959 the presence of fish buyers willing to pay good prices, many men engaged in fishing. In general it can be said that commercial fishing complements the trapping of fur bearers (Fig. 14).

Most commercial fishing is conducted from the village of Round Lake during the Summer, Fall and Late Winter periods. During these periods there are in addition one or two fish camps located on various lakes within the area. Spring fishing during 1959 was almost entirely done from fish camps established several miles from the village. Fish camps are either at permanent winter camps or at new sites where tents are pitched. They are located on Caribou, Makoop, Nikip, Opakopa Lakes and at the mouth of the Caribou River. Nikip Lake was occupied during August and September 1958 to exploit the sturgeon there. None of these fish camps are occupied by many people. There may be from one to eight fishermen, and even the spring camps were rarely larger since the people tended to be scattered within a circumscribed area. In most cases the fisherman's family goes with him.

The Government specifies the number of yards of net that can be set at any one time in Weagamow Lake, and therefore only a limited number of nets can be used. With large numbers of men fishing this means that each man can only have about two nets in the water at a time, and energetic fishermen complain of this restriction, contending that they can handle more nets, and calculating all the money they are losing. They do not understand the reason for the restriction. During the periods of poor fishing a man can make very little money. He, of course, makes much more during times when large catches per net can be made.

During the period from August 1958 to June 1959 an estimated 125,000 to



FIG 13 - ESTIMATED POUNDS OF FISH CAUGHT PER MONTH FOR 'SALE, ROUND LAKE OJIBWA, 1958-1959

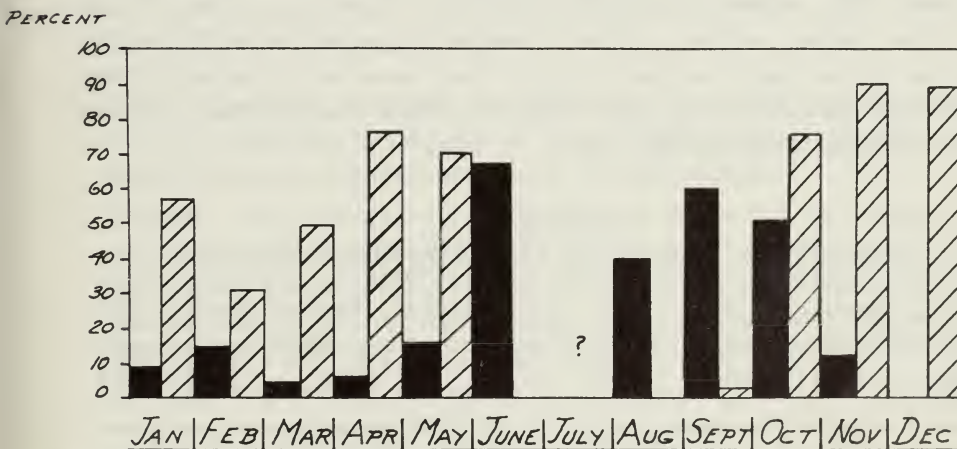


FIG 14 - PERCENTAGE OF MEN ENGAGED IN FISHING AND TRAPPING PER MONTH, ROUND LAKE OJIBWA, 1958-1959

■ MEN FISHING

▨ MEN TRAPPING

150,000 pounds of fish were caught for sale throughout the entire area (Fig. 13). Accurate figures were impossible to secure. Information secured from informants and from direct observation was pieced together and extrapolated to give the above estimate. Perhaps between 10% and 20% of the commercial catch spoiled because of inadequate transportation facilities. Over 100,000 pounds of fish were shipped, most of which was eventually paid for. Although this is a difficult field to investigate, informants did on occasion complain bitterly about not receiving payment for the fish they sold. It probably did not amount to more than 5% of the catch.

Hunting and Trapping:

Introduction: Hunting and trapping are still fundamental to the existence of the Round Lake Ojibwa and provide one of the basic roles for men. The techniques for the capture of game, although not numerous, are effective. Trapping supplies the people with some food and with money with which to buy goods; hunting supplies, food and some clothing.

Trapping is a seasonal occupation. It commences about the first of November and is engaged in extensively for the next two months. It diminishes in importance during the Late Winter period, but increases again during the spring. All trapping of fur bearers stops at about the end of May. After the first week in June fur is no longer in prime condition and brings very little money. The months of November, December, April and May are considered the best for trapping.

While trapping is a major source of income for the Round Lake Ojibwa, not all species of fur bearers are of equal importance.¹ Mink are first, with beaver second. Otter and muskrat are third and fourth respectively (Table 40 and 65). Fisher, marten, ermine, squirrel, lynx and fox are of limited importance. Bear skins are no longer an item of trade. Wolf pelts are occasionally taken for the bounty the Government pays. Wolverine, skunk, and woodchuck are not, as far as is known, sought for their pelts.

TABLE 40
Number of Pelts Secured by the Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Fox	Mink	Beaver	Muskrat	Otter	Fisher	Marten	Ermine	Squirrel	Lynx
4	819	417	3758	136	8	1	661	947*	15

* At least this many were captured, and undoubtedly more of which there is no record.

The capture of animals for food is of some importance although hunting has decreased during the past twenty to thirty years. It tends to be a seasonal occupation with Late Winter and Spring the most important periods. Important food

1. Figures for the number of fur bearers secured during 1958-1959 are based on records of the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests.

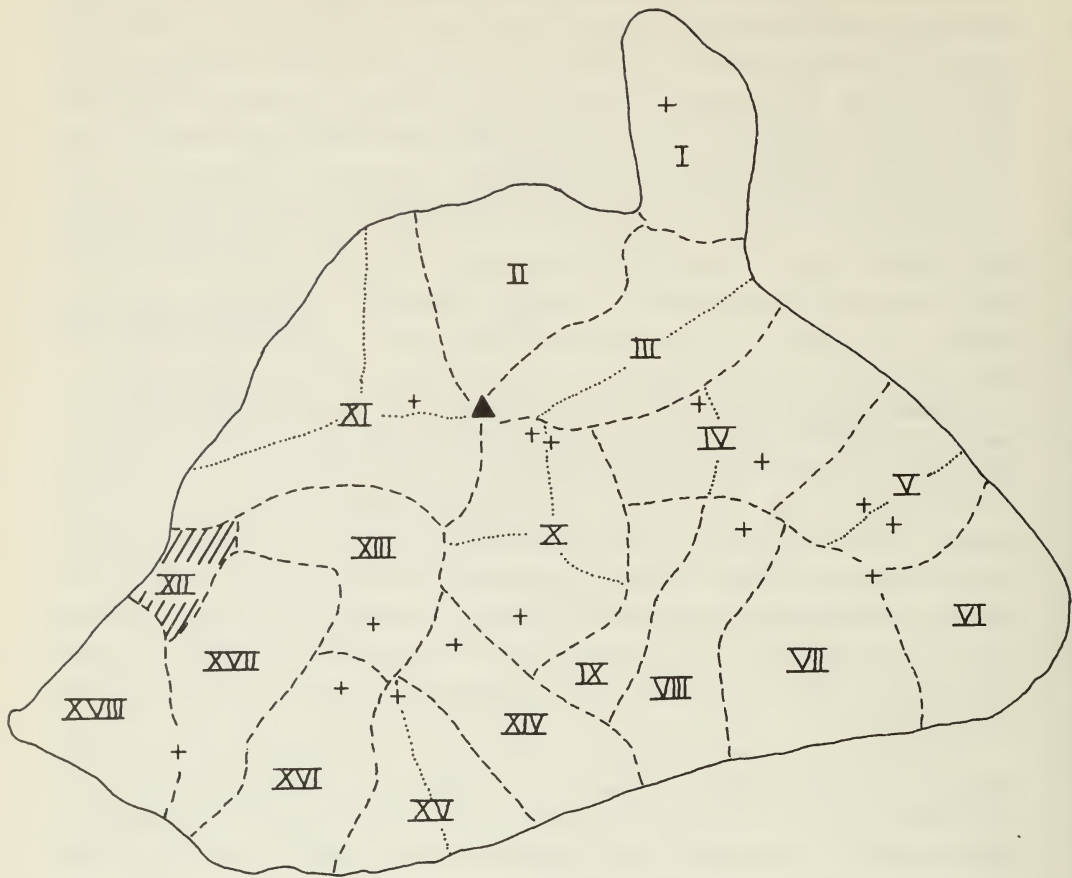
animals are moose, beaver, and hares. Other mammals are eaten, but to a much smaller extent. Formerly caribou may have been important but because of their decreasing numbers they have become insignificant in the economy. Today, and perhaps to a certain extent in the past, bear are of very limited importance as a source of food. Birds, pine and waterfowl, are important at certain times of the year. Hunting, however, tends to be spasmodic and generally pursued in conjunction with other activities such as trapping.

Hunting and trapping trips are undertaken by the men organized in "trapping partnerships" or "teams"¹ composed of two or three men each. The partners trap particular areas defined by the Government in co-operation with the trappers. These areas are here referred to as Trapping Territories. Hunting is not as restricted. The resources in this case are free to all in any part of the community area.

Trapping Territories: Trapping territories are a new institution among the Round Lake Ojibwa imposed upon them by the Government. At the time of contact each hunting group habitually exploited a particular area, known hereafter as the Hunting Area, but did not have exclusive rights to the land or its resources.² With the advent of the Euro-Canadians, this pattern of land use began to alter and by 1910-1915, Hunting Territories were beginning to emerge.³ Before they became fully developed with definite boundaries, as happened further east in the sub-arctic, the Government, in 1947, established Registered Traplines for the Round Lake Ojibwa. In this report these are referred to as Trapping Territories.

At present, the area of the Round Lake Ojibwa is divided into a number of Trapping Territories (Map 9). These are based in part on the old areas of habitual use by particular families. To each territory are assigned several trappers one of whom is considered by the Government to be leader. The Round Lake Ojibwa follow this system only in part.

1. There is no formal recognition of this relationship. It has developed more or less spontaneously in response to the fur trade, a money economy, and the establishment of registered traplines by the Government.
2. Formerly, all resources were considered free goods, i.e. no person or group had any exclusive rights over these goods. A man had the right to exploit the resources necessary for his own and his family's well-being wherever he wished. No man had the right to stop another from so doing. This was true even though there were areas - Hunting Areas - exploited year after year by the same families and considered as their homes. This flexibility allowed over time, an equitable distribution of the resources in the face of occasional famines and the expansion and contraction of hunting groups due to births and deaths. If a group was short of food they could with impunity forage in a neighbouring area, or if the group increased its size it could encompass those areas temporarily unoccupied through the contraction in numbers of a neighbouring group. This latter had no right to hold the area and its resources with the prospect of increasing its numbers at some later date.
3. The change came about through the actions of the trader and perhaps the missionary, although they did not purposefully attempt any change. With the



MAP 9

TRAPPING TERRITORIES OF THE ROUND LAKE OJIBWA
1958-1959

- ▲ VILLAGE
- + WINTER CAMP
- - - BOUNDARY OF TRAPPING TERRITORY
- BOUNDARY OF SUBDIVISION
- //// UNOCCUPIED

Although trapping territories were given definite boundaries by the Government which can be delimited by informants, in reality they have vague boundaries. Rather, a man's territory can be conceived of as a series of traplines¹ radiating from his camp in the bush or in the village. At the extremities, the traplines often interlock with those from neighbouring camps, apparently as a result of an expanding population. Furthermore, in actual practice some territories are further sub-divided by the people themselves, but with no formal boundaries (Map 9).

The rights and duties involved in trapping territories are difficult to define. Land as such is unimportant; it is the resources to which certain rights and duties pertain. The difficulties encountered in defining trapping territories result in part from internal developments, such as an expanding population and the breakdown of structures necessary for the proper operation of trapping territories, and in part to external factors. The fact that the Government is vitally interested in trapping territories and established boundaries, sets game quotas, attempts to settle disputes, and issues trapping licenses, adds an extra dimension to the problem.

Even though the Round Lake Ojibwa leave much to the Government, they themselves do have certain ideas regarding trapping territories and the resources of the area. These two - resources and the land represented by territories - must be viewed as two distinct aspects of land utilization.

advent of a money economy there developed an idea that fur bearers were the property of the group which habitually occupied a particular area given them by God for their personal use. In the case of certain individuals this idea seems to have been extended to include big game animals, but their inclusion was never generally accepted and they are not included today. Even though ideas of private property developed in regard to fur bearers the concept was not extended to the land itself. Rather, the idea of fur bearers as private property represents a refinement of an older concept regarding the killing of animals. Formerly, in the days before the advent of the fur trade, when an animal had been killed it became the property of the hunter who killed it. Previous to the moment of death the animal was a free good. Now with money being paid to any individual for furs he possesses, the situation changes. The proceeds of the hunt, in this case furs, were no longer shared within the group but were sold to the trader, an individual outside the group, and the money received was used to buy goods for the trapper's own use. This is only partly true since he was expected to support his family, but at the same time he could and did buy prestige items. Accordingly, whenever signs of game were found, the finder recognized its monetary value and began to feel he had the right to those animals. This was simple in the case of beaver. Whenever a beaver house was found it could be marked to denote ownership. An attempt was made on the part of the finder to punish anyone violating this right. It was not so simple in the case of other fur bearers, which roam more widely. Before any system of defended territorial boundaries developed to cope with this problem the Government established Registered Traplines.

1. "Trapline" refers to a circuit through the territory along which traps are placed.

Trapping territories are not considered private property. Rather, the trappers consider that they have the right of usufruct and that ultimate control is in the hands of the Government. Some men believe that the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests is solely responsible for the administration of the trapping territories and that they themselves have nothing to do with them. This is clearly seen in cases of trespass. The offended party always declares he can do nothing about it himself but that if it becomes too bad he will speak to the Government. No matter how bad the situation becomes men rarely do, since this might involve them in endless feuding with their neighbours, a possibility they try to avoid. At the same time, they do not feel that they should be deprived of their rights to use the land unless they are fairly compensated.

From the point of view of the Round Lake Ojibwa any changes in the territories must be made by the Government. They do not attempt to alter the boundaries or dispose of the territories through sale, barter, or gift among themselves. Nevertheless, adjustments are necessary from time to time as hunting groups contract and expand. When a group increases in size it encroaches on its neighbours. Rarely are arrangements made for some of the members to move into groups which are declining in size and therefore have excess land,¹ nor does the leader often seek a solution by going to the Government. This is clearly seen in the cases of Territories III and IV in which there are fifty-four and thirty-two square miles per trapper during the Early Winter Period, 1958 (Table 41). The number of men trapping in Territory III has increased in the recent past because of the desire of trappers to remain near the village and in Territory IV because of natural growth. On the other hand, in Territory VI during the winter of 1958-59 there were 338 square miles for a single trapper. Three men as a rule hunted this area, but two had left. Furthermore, Territory XII was unoccupied. No mechanism has been worked out by the Round Lake Ojibwa whereby they can redistribute extra land. All an outside trapper can do is ask permission of another to trap his land, or trespass. Even though there is land that lies idle, in most cases it is not adjacent to the territory of a man who desires, and may need more land. Strong family bonds and the desire of a trapper for a partner prevent the groups from splitting up to exploit segments of land scattered here and there. Because of this, conflict with the neighbouring group may result, but it is in general of a relatively minor nature. That it is not more intense at present is due to the fact that the continuing idea of the resources being free goods tends to balance the idea that they are private property. Another factor is that there are few men vitally interested in trapping as an economic way of life. One man, for instance, stopped trapping during the spring of 1959 and returned to the village. His stated reason for doing this was that so many men were trespassing on his territory. He was not particularly interested in doing anything about the situation nor in competing for the fur bearers. Yet there are men, and occasionally women, who are vitally interested in their territories as a future source of livelihood for their children.

The fur bearers found within a man's territory are in part considered by him to be his property and that of the other trappers utilizing the area. Other men

1. Cases are reported of men joining their brothers-in-law as the result of the overcrowding of the paternal holding.

may trap there if they first ask his permission. It is not considered proper to say "no" too often, especially if there is an abundance of game on the land. In fact, permission is probably rarely if ever refused. There are several reasons advanced why permission should be asked. First, the head trapper is responsible to the Government for knowing the number of occupied beaver houses on his land. When he grants permission to another, a certain number of specified beaver houses is allotted to the guest. Second, in the case of hunting such animals as moose, the "owner" of the territory wants to know the location of all men on his land and to have them so placed that the chances of an accidental shooting are reduced. The Round Lake Ojibwa fear such accidents.¹ That permission should be granted by the "owner" of the land to another to hunt and trap on it is justified in his eyes by the aid the guest will furnish him. The guest will tend his host's traps, and he will share game he kills with his host in larger proportions than with others. Furthermore, informants state that if a man always refuses permission, trouble will likely occur (the implication is that witchcraft might be practiced). In other words, strong ideas of private ownership have not developed and there lingers the ideal that all resources are free goods. Another point may be involved although not explicitly stated. The owner of the land has no way in which he can prevent a man from hunting and trapping on his land if he does not want him to. Therefore he might just as well give permission.

If a person secures permission to trap and hunt on another's land no charge as a rule is made. Rather the guest is expected to aid his host whenever possible. Occasionally, the guest fails to do so either in actual practice or only in the eyes of his host, and then trouble develops between the two men. The host is powerless to do more than talk: he cannot banish his guest. In one case, a trapper agreed to pay \$40.00 for the right to share another's trapping territory for one winter. He failed to pay, and his hosts were most annoyed.

Even if a man does not ask permission to trap on another's land it is not considered wrong if he does, as long as he takes only a few furs. If he takes too many, it is considered definitely wrong and an act of theft. This occasionally occurs and hard feelings result. The offended trapper has no means of stopping or punishing a poacher through any mechanism within the community except the possibility of sorcery. If the trapper gets angry enough he may speak to the Government, but this is a drastic last resort. Generally the offended trapper merely grumbles about his lot. Whether he recognizes it or not, he is still following the prevailing attitude that all have a right to make a living.

Resources other than fur bearers, such as big game, grouse, hares, waterfowl, berries, trees, medicinal plants, and fish are considered free goods. A hunter might ask permission to hunt moose and caribou on another's land so that arrangements can be made to prevent hunting accidents, but there would be no thought of doing so for the other resources. The rights regarding these have not changed since former days.

The sale of trapping territories is not practiced. One informant stated that

1. A case occurred not too many years ago in which a man accidentally shot and killed his brother when out hunting. The accident is vividly remembered and often referred to. There have been other cases of accidental shooting although without such fatal consequences.

since the Government owned the land it was difficult if not impossible to sell it. Nevertheless this informant considered that 10% of the buyer's total income from furs for ten years should be paid for a trapping territory.

The occupied trapping territories vary in size from 120 to 554 square miles (Table 41). These are the territories as established by the Government and delimited by informants. In practice the areas actually exploited by trapping partners are rarely as large but are often partitioned into sub-divisions. Eight of the seventeen occupied territories are sub-divided among trapping partners who hold "title" to the land according to the Government.

Hunting and trapping is undertaken by a few men in association with each other in the form of a trapping partnership.¹ In general, two or sometimes three men co-operate, but on occasion a trapper works alone. There are no large scale communal enterprises at any time, even for the capture of caribou. Each trapping territory is exploited by from one to three teams of trappers. In those territories where there is more than one team, each has a designated area within the total trapping territory which it exploits, although traplines may interlock along the margins. The smallest territory or sub-division exploited by any one team (i.e. two or more men) is ninety-nine square miles and the largest 318 square miles. The amount of land available to individual trappers varies greatly, from thirty-two square miles to 338 square miles. This reflects clearly the overcrowding that occurs in some areas.

The trappers exploit the territory in several ways which depend on the distances to be covered and the habits of the game sought. Each territory can be conceived of as divided into two concentric zones, an inner and an outer zone. To exploit the outer zone the partners move from their winter camp, leaving their families there, and establish trapping camps. These may consist of a rude log cabin, a tent, or simply a windbreak. Several may be established in this outer zone. From here a number of traplines are laid out radially. One informant stated that there should not be too many traplines since then there would be too much work. It was better to have only a few traplines placed in highly productive areas. Rarely does a man go alone to exploit this outer zone. To reach their trapping camps the men take toboggans, generally pulled by dogs although some drag their own. Usually the men stay for a week or more at their trapping camps and then return to the winter camp. Here they remain for a week to ten days, trapping the inner zone before returning again to the outer zone. To exploit the inner zone, the men frequently take day trips singly from their winter camp. They rarely remain for longer periods of time. No trapping camps are established in this area. This pattern is continued all winter by some hunters.

The placement of traplines in either zone is dependent on the habits of the game being exploited. During the fall when mink are in great demand the traps are located near rapids and beaver dams, where these animals come to fish. On the other hand during the spring when intensive search is made for muskrat as well as beaver, other areas within the territory are frequently exploited. Finally, while most trappers tend to utilize the whole of their territory or sub-division each year, several trappers claimed they did not do this. Rather they alternated between two sections of their land, trapping one section one winter while leav-

1. See Hunting Group - Winter Camp in Social Organization pp.B74ff for details.

TABLE 41

Size of Trapping Territories and Number of Trappers per Territory by Season, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Number	Trapping Territory Size (sq. miles)	Number of Trappers		Square Miles/Man		Number of Sets of Trapping Partners		Sq. Miles/Set Partners	
		Early Winter	Late Winter	Early Winter	Spring	Early Winter	Winter	Early Winter	Winter
I	272	3	2	3	91	2	2	136	
II	318	2	3	3	109	1	1	318	
III	321	6	5	2	54	2	2	161	
IV	225	7	5	7	32	2	2	113	
V	274	2	0	3	137	2	2	137	
VI	338	1	0	1	338	1*	1*	338	
VII	321	1	0	5	321	1*	1*	321	
VIII	272	2	2	2	136	1	1	272	
IX	120	2	0	0	60	1	1	120	
X	388	7	5	3	55	3	3	129	
XI	554	6	3	5	111	3	3	151	
XII	77	unoccupied	unoccupied	unoccupied	unoccupied	unoccupied	unoccupied	unoccupied	
XIII	205	3	0	5	68	2	2	103	
XIV	275	2	1	1	138	1	1	275	
XV	197	4	2	3	49	2	2	99	
XVI	308	3	3	1	154	1	1	308	
XVII	310	2	2	2	155	1	1	310	
XVIII	225	2	2	2	113	1	1	225	
	5,000	55	35	48		27			

* Single Trapper

ing the other section untouched.

Devices and Techniques for the Capture of Game: The devices and techniques for capturing game vary widely and depend in large measure on the species sought. Accordingly, only a general outline is given here. Details will be given in the discussion of each species.

At present few of the old trapping devices are still in use. A few hunters use deadfalls for beaver and otter and occasionally construct a snare to take bear. Steel traps are employed to capture a large proportion of the fur bearing animals (Table 42). Several size of traps are used according to the species to be captured (Table 43). A large number of sets have been devised independently or adopted from the whites. As might be expected the greatest variety of sets are employed for the most important fur bearers: seven sets for mink, five for otter, four for beaver, and three for muskrat. There is only one set for each of the other fur bearers (Table 44). Several forms of bait and scent are used according to species (Table 45). An informant said it was not good to use old trap sets because the animals would be afraid of them. He felt that sets constructed in the fall should be renewed in the spring. Snares, although an old trait, have become modified through the use of wire. Whereas formerly stationary snares were seldom or never employed, they became for a time very important in the capture of fur bearers. Today the stationary wire snare is the most important means of securing hares. The wire snare for beaver is said to have been brought to the the Round Lake Area between fifteen and twenty years ago by trappers from Big Trout Lake. At present, it is preferred to steel traps and a large percentage of beaver are taken in this manner. Occasionally lynx are taken in stationary snares. Otherwise the use of snares is diminishing.

Shotguns and rifles have taken the place of bows, crossbows, and the old muzzle loaders. Guns are employed not only to take food animals but also fur bearers. Muskrat, beaver, and otter are frequently shot during the spring. Although this is forbidden by the Government and considerable pressure has been brought to bear in the past to enforce the law, the practice has not entirely disappeared. Although the Ojibwa fear Government action, the fact that the pelts are damaged and the traders pay much less may be as important in curtaining the practice.

The capture of wildlife is not purely a matter of knowing the habits of the game sought and the appropriate devices and techniques for securing it. Religious attitudes and beliefs play a part, though these have decreased in importance over the years. Both "power" (manito'hke)¹, and special medicines were used in the past, and perhaps occasionally today in the capture of game. The employment of "power" is discussed under Religion and need not be described here. No description of the medicines used was obtained. Informants merely stated that some individuals had a bottle containing a liquid, of which a few drops are placed on the trap or near where the animal lives. Game is then always captured. In a case given, the medicine was placed by a hole in the ice where otter went in and out of the water. This attracted the otter from the hole, so that they could be easily shot. In addition, the remains of game animals must

1. See Power in Religion pp. D3ff.

TABLE 42

Devices for the Capture of Specific Species of Mammals, Round Lake Ojibwa,
1958-1959

Species of Mammal	Device			
	Deadfall	Snare	Steel Trap	Gun
Varying Hare	-	x	-	r
Woodchuck	-	-	r	r
Red Squirrel	-	r	x	x
Beaver	x	x	x	x
Muskrat	-	-	x	x
Porcupine	-	-	-	-
Timber Wolf	-	-	x	x
Red Fox	-	x	r	r
Bear	-	x	-	x
Marten	-	-	x	r
Fisher	-	x	x	r
Ermine	-	-	x	-
Mink	-	-	x	r
Wolverine	-	-	-	r
Skunk	-	-	-	-
Otter	x	x	x	x
Lynx	-	x	x	r
Moose	-	-	-	x
Caribou	-	-	-	x
Total Number of Species Secured	2	7	10	8

x Type of device employed at present

- None of these devices employed at present

r The device seldom if ever employed at present

be treated with respect in some cases,¹ or bad hunting luck will result. There is one custom still observed by some men when hunting moose. If the animal is wounded the hunter immediately stops where he observes the blood and builds a fire. He then heats his gun and places a small amount of the blood from the moose inside the gun. This action causes the moose to become very sick and die. Having done this, the hunter makes a circuit of the area to see if the ritual has been effective. It was specified that this is not the employment of "power" (*manito'hke*), but no name for the ritual could be elicited.

Mink: Mink trapping is one of the most, if not the most, important occupation of the men. The income from mink pelts fluctuates between one-quarter and one-half of the total income from all furs, and is perhaps as high as one-tenth

1. See Propitiation in Religion pp. D30f.

TABLE 43

Size of Steel Traps used for the Capture of Specific Species of Mammals, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Species of Mammal	Trap Size			
	#4	#2	#1-1/2	#1
Woodchuck			x	x
Red Squirrel				x
Beaver	x			
Muskrat		x	x	x
Timber Wolf			?	
Red Fox	x	x		
Marten			?	
Fisher	x			
Ermine				x
Mink		x	x	x
Otter	x	x		
Lynx	x			
Total Number of Species	5	4	3	5

of the total income of the Round Lake Ojibwa.

Today mink are taken exclusively with steel traps, #1 and #1-1/2, and occasionally #2 (Table 43). These are set in a variety of ways depending primarily on the place where the trap is placed. Perhaps the most common method of setting mink traps, at least that most frequently seen, involved placing the trap on the bank of a stream or lake under a fallen log or thicket of dead or living branches. The trap chain is secured to a stake driven in the ground. There is nothing elaborate about this type of set. Sometimes the trap is set just inside the entrance to a mink burrow. No bait is used in either set since these are the natural trails of mink.

At other times mink traps are set inside a specially built pen. The pen is made of sticks (or occasionally of stones) set vertically in the ground. The top of the pen is covered with spruce boughs, or sometimes moss. In the case of a stone pen a large stone is employed to cover the top. At the back of the pen fish or sometimes hare meat is secured as bait, but no scent is used. The trap is placed near the front of the pen and the chain secured to a stake located outside the entrance.

The stake pen set is constructed along the shore of a stream or lake quite close to the water or actually in the water, usually in a quiet pool at the side of a rapid. In this latter case fewer sticks are used and the top is not covered. Although informants claimed a pen was constructed, in those actually seen the "pen" consisted of no more than three or four sticks. The stone pen set is built on shore in the same locations as the stake pen but never in the water. A related type of set consists of excavating a hole in the snow to ground level. Here

TABLE 44

Various Types of Steel Traps Set According to the Species of Mammal Desired, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Steel Trap	Entrance to Burrow	Wood Pen				On Log	In Trail	In Bed of Stream	On Bed of Brush	Deep Water	Total
		On Log	On Ground	In Water	Pen						
Red Squirrel	x										1
Beaver	x			x		x				x	4
Muskkrat	x							x		x	3
Timber Wolf	x										-
Red Fox	x										-
Marten	x				x						1
Fisher	x		x								1
Ermine	x										1
Mink	x		x	x		x					7
Otter	x		x	x		x			x	x	5
Lynx	x		x								1
11	11	4	2	3	3	1	1	2	3	1	3

TABLE 45

Type of Bait and Scent Used for Various Species of Mammals, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

SPECIES	BAIT					SCENT			
	None*	Poplar	Jack Pine	Fish	Fish & Fish Oil	Hare	Castoreum	Muskkrat Scent	None*
Varying Hare	0		x						0
Red Squirrel	0								0
Beaver	0	x					x		0
Muskkrat	0	x						x	0
Red Fox	0			x					0
Bear	0	x			x				0
Marten	?								?
Fisher				x		x	x		0
Ermine				x		x			0
Mink	0			x		x			0
Otter	0			x			x		0
Lynx	0					x	x		0
	10	2	1	5	1	4	1		10

0 No bait or scent used in certain trap sets. x Bait or scent used with particular trap sets.

* In some sets no bait or scent is used while in another type of set bait and/or scent may be used. That is why for some species it is recorded that no bait is used and bait is used.

the trap is placed, with fish for bait. at the rear of the excavation. The top of the hole is covered with spruce boughs and these in turn covered with snow. An opening is left, but is narrowed by placing small sticks at either side. The end of the trap chain is secured to a stick forced into the ground.

There are favored places within each trapping territory where the trapper usually sets his mink traps year after year. In some cases one small area may yield half or more of a trapper's total take of mink. Preferred locations are along rapids where the mink come to feed, along small streams, and in and around beaver dams.

November and December are the most important months for trapping mink. It is during these months that the largest number of men are engaged in trapping (Table 46). By early January more than half of the men have stopped trapping mink. The number continues to decrease throughout the rest of the winter. During the season of 1958-59 approximately 80% of all mink taken by the Round Lake Ojibwa were secured during November and December (Fig. 15).¹ After Christmas the number of mink taken decreases rapidly. Before the first of the year each man takes about six per month. During January and February it drops to between three and four per month. Several reasons may account for this. First, the mink population has been greatly reduced through intensive trapping in the previous two months. Secondly, informants claim that during January and February mink are difficult to secure since they restrict their movements because of the cold weather and remain under the snow. Finally, the trappers themselves reduce their efforts, because they believe mink are difficult to trap at this time, and because of the very cold weather.

TABLE 46

Number of Men who Secured Mink (Sixteen years of age or older), Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

	Nov-Dec	January	February	March	April	May
Number of men	53	19	15	6	10	10

The season for mink officially closes at the end of February. The fact that they are taken after this date is not primarily due to the men continuing to set traps for them although a few do. Rather, mink are occasionally caught in traps set for other animals. Informants contend that it is not good to trap them during March, April and May since they are then carrying young. This is probably a new idea acquired from Euro-Canadians. Formerly, as far as information goes, no

1. In Figure 15 the numbers of fur bearers recorded for the month of April are in most cases too low. This results from the fact that during the spring the trappers generally remain in the bush not bringing their furs to the village until May or early June. Therefore the May figures are too large. Actually a number of these furs were taken in April. The June returns are placed in May since most if not all of these were taken in preceding months.

gard was given to this and mink were taken at this time.

The total area of the Round Lake Ojibwa, as previously stated, is composed of three sub-areas, Windigo, Caribou, and Weagamow Lakes.¹ During 1958-1959, 40% of all mink taken were trapped in the sub-area of Weagamow (Table 47) and the yield of mink per square mile in sub-area was about half again as great as that found in others (Table 47). This results from the fact that 40% of the men trap in this sub-area (Table 48), and there are half again as many trappers to each square mile.

TABLE 47

Location and Number of Mink Trapped Correlated with Size of Area and Number of Trappers, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Sub-Area	Number			
	of Mink	Square Miles/Mink	Square Miles/Trapper	Mink/Trapper
Weagamow*	328	4.8	75.3	15.6
Windigo Lake	215	7.7	101.3	14.3
Caribou Lake	230	6.7	103.3	15.3
The Three Sub-Areas	773	6.0	91.2	15.1

* Makoop Lake, Trapping Territory No. 1, is excluded from the Weagamow sub-area in this table.

TABLE 48

Location and Number of Mink Trappers, Sixteen Years of Age and Older, Round Lake Ojibwa, November-December 1958

<u>Sub-Area Affiliation</u>	<u>Sub-Area Where Trapped</u>			
	Caribou	Weagamow	Windigo	Total
Caribou Lake	15	5	0	20
Weagamow*	0	14	0	14
Windigo Lake	0	2	14	16
Total	15	21	14#	50

* Makoop Lake, Trapping Territory No. I, is excluded from the Weagamow sub-area in this table.

Two more men actually trapped in Windigo Lake sub-area but are not included since one is a recent immigrant from Cat Lake and the other an immigrant from Bearskin.

1. For discussion here the three men who trap at Makoop Lake (Trapping Territory No. 1) are excluded since they do not live in the village during the winter and because they are as closely associated with the community of Bearskin as they are with Round Lake.

This unequal distribution of trappers has arisen only in the past few years, especially since the establishment of a winter school in the village of Round Lake. The old pattern of dispersal for the fall hunt and early winter trapping has been altered considerably. There is now a tendency developing for the trappers to exploit areas nearer the village during the period November-February. Men from the sub-areas of Caribou and Windigo Lakes have moved into the trapping territories of the Weagamow men and exploit them jointly with the latter. In spite of this the yield of mink per trapper is the same whether the man is trapping in the Weagamow sub-area or in some other sub-area nor does it make any difference to what sub-area he normally belongs (Table 48). The average is approximately fifteen mink, with variation from one to thirty-five. Apparently the recent increase in the number of trappers exploiting the area immediately surrounding Weagamow Lake has not yet begun to decimate the mink population and reduce the yield per trapper. This may occur in the future.

Yields in the total area trapped by the Round Lake Ojibwa could perhaps be increased. Because of the desire to spend more time in the village, the men do not examine their traps as frequently as they might. Damage and destruction of mink pelts, therefore, by predators such as ravens and mice is rather high. One trapper reported that approximately fifteen percent of his mink was ruined by ravens during the 1958-59 season.

The only differential in the average yield of mink per trapper tends to be correlated with the age of the trappers as might be expected (Table 49), but the differences are not great. Men between twenty-five and sixty are the best trappers, with those in the younger age brackets perhaps being the best of all.¹

Beaver: Beaver are next to mink in importance as fur bearers, but in addition they are a valuable source of food. They are trapped from the end of October until the end of May. November, December, April and May are the main trapping months. About 45% are taken in November and December and 45% in April and May (Fig. 15). Very few are taken during January, February, and March, and even fewer during the summer months.

Beaver are captured primarily with steel traps, snares and by (Tables 42-45) shooting. Occasionally, they are taken in deadfalls. The technique of capture depends almost entirely on the time of year. Before freeze-up, steel traps are most important. Few beaver are shot at this time and none are snared. After freeze-up and almost until break-up snares are commonly used. They probably account for between one-half and three-quarters of the beaver taken, possibly

1. It is interesting to note that in 1958-59 those men between the ages of thirty-five and thirty-nine show one of the poorest yields of any group. This is a clear illustration of the difficulties encountered when dealing with small numbers of cases. Although there are almost as many men in this age group as any other, personal circumstances upset the average yield, and the number of men involved is not large enough to offset this. There are eight men in the group. One is a cripple; one injured his back at the start of the trapping season; one stopped trapping because he was having bad luck; one had returned the previous summer from hospital and was still weak. Accordingly, half the men were prevented from doing a normal season's trapping and the average for the group was greatly affected.

more. Steel traps are also used during the winter. With the advent of break-up snares are no longer used. At this time perhaps as many as one-half of the beaver are shot. The rest are taken with steel traps

TABLE 49

Number of Mink Trapped Correlated with the Age of Trapper, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Age of Trapper	Number of Trappers	Average Number of Mink	Total Number of Mink	Range
75-79				
70-74	1	10	10	
65-69	1	7	7	
60-64	0			
55-59	4	18.8	75	(7-28)
50-54	2	13.5	27	(13-14)
45-49	3	15.8	47	(13-18)
40-44	5	16.2	81	(6-25)
35-39	8	11.8	94	(3-20)
30-34	4	20.0	80	(12-35)
25-29	10	22.2	222	(14-28)
20-24	6	13.7	82	(7-23)
15-19	9	8.8	80	(1-19)
10-14	4	2.0	8	(1-4)
	57	14.2	813	(1-35)

Steel traps are set in several ways. During the spring, and perhaps occasionally in the fall, the trap is set in a beaver path where it enters the water. The trap may be barely in the water or on land. A large stone is tied to one arm of the trap with string. The trap chain is secured to a long dry stick, or to a stake placed in the ground. Vertical sticks are erected at either side of the trap to guide the beaver into the trap. On the landward side of the trap a green poplar stick is placed as bait and castoreum for scent. A second method is to construct a pen of stakes in shallow water along the shore of a stream or pond. At the back of the pen green poplar is placed for bait. The trap is set just inside the entrance and secured as above. This type of set is placed near a beaver house and used throughout the trapping season. Occasionally the steel trap is set just inside the entrance to a beaver house. It is generally attached to a horizontal stick raised several inches above the floor of the passage. This set can also be employed throughout the trapping season. During January and February, still another method is used but appears to be infrequent. The trap is first attached to a stick which is thrust into the bottom of a pond or stream in six to ten feet of water. The trap is several feet below the surface, and green poplar is used for bait. Several dry poles are placed on either side of the trap to guide the beaver to the spot where the trap will be sprung. There is a final way

in which beaver may be trapped. Occasionally a breach is made in a beaver dam and the trap placed here. No matter how the trap is set, dry wood must be used except for the bait. If not, the beaver may eat part of the set without being caught.

Twenty-five years ago the beaver snare was unknown to the people in the area of Round Lake. About fifteen years ago it diffused southward from Bear-skin and was adopted by the men at Makoop Lake. From here it spread throughout the area of the Round Lake Ojibwa. Today it is familiar to all the trappers in the area, and apparently all of them use it. The original snares were made of cord, but now are made of heavy wire cable.

The snares are the preferred way in which to capture beaver, as they are considered more efficient than steel traps. Informants contend that within a day or two of setting one they can expect to capture one or more beaver. With a steel trap they might have to wait two weeks before success. Beaver snares are set in one of two locations - at the entrance to a burrow or in an underwater "path" leading to the house. If the set is erected at the entrance to a beaver burrow a single snare is used. In the other case, two to five snares are erected. One or two stakes, each with two or three snares attached, are set vertically under the water at the side of the beaver "path". The snares extend over the "path", practically filling the area from the bottom of the pond to the surface of the water. No bait or scent is used. One disadvantage of the snare is that when a beaver is caught the carcass frequently becomes frozen into the ice. If this happens the trapper sometimes accidentally cuts the pelt as he chops away the ice to examine his snare. A number of cases of this nature occurred during the season 1958-59.

In setting steel traps or snares during the winter, the trapper must first determine where the entrance to the beaver house is. To do this the hunter makes a circuit of the house, tapping the ice with a stick. The sounds emitted tell him of the thickness of the ice and the thinnest indicates the location of the passageway.

A net for the capture of beaver has recently been introduced to the Round Lake Ojibwa. During the spring of 1959 a Round Lake woman made a beaver net for the husband of her niece. She had learned of it while residing with her husband, now deceased, at Cat Lake. This was the first time any of the Round Lake trappers had ever seen this device, and the only man who tried one of these nets was unsuccessful in capturing any beaver with it. The net is made of heavy cord in the form of a bag with a large opening at one end and a smaller one at the other, just the size of the beaver's head. Around the larger opening a long wire is passed. The net is "collapsed" and tied with grass "string" between two stakes erected in a small stream. The wire extends back on shore to the operator, who is hidden from view. When a beaver swims along the stream he thrusts his head through the opening of the net. As he continues forward, the net opens about him. At this moment the operator pulls on the wire closing the net about the beaver and dragging him ashore. This form of trap is used only in the spring when there is open water.

Beaver are sometimes shot. Informants felt that spring was the best time to do this, since the females were pregnant then and could thus be identified

and spared. It seems doubtful if in practice this is actually followed. All traps, snares, and deadfalls are said to be retrieved at the end of the spring. To a large extent this is probably true but in several instances observed in 1959, it appeared likely the traps would be left set all summer. It is said that if a beaver is caught and not retrieved, the rotting carcass pollutes the stream. Otter and muskrat then leave the area and it is not good for the fish.

The trapping of beaver differs from mink in several important respects. As noted previously a large percentage of beaver, in contrast to mink, are secured during the spring. In 1958-59 over 50% were taken at this time of year (Fig. 15). Furthermore, the areas exploited for beaver differ during the Early Winter and Spring periods (Table 50). Approximately 45% taken during the Fall were trapped in the Weagamow Sub-area, a situation paralleling that for mink trapping. During the spring, on the other hand, the trappers move outward toward the margins of the Round Lake Area. At this time of year nearly 90% of the beaver in 1959 were captured in the Sub-areas of Windigo and Caribou Lakes.

The average yield for each trapper is about seven beaver with a range of from one to twenty-four. There is no significant difference between the men either on the basis of sub-area affiliation or age except at the extreme age limits. There may be a tendency for the younger men to excel their seniors slightly but the number of cases is too small to prove this.

Otter: Otter rank next to mink and beaver in economic importance. Approximately 90% are secured during the four months of November, December, April and May and in about equal numbers each month (Fig. 15). During the Late Winter period otter are difficult to secure and little attempt is made to capture them. Favorite locations to catch them are around rapids.

TABLE 50

Sub-areas in which Beaver were Trapped, Farly Winter and Spring,
Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

<u>Sub-area</u>	<u>Number of Beaver</u>	
	November-December	April-May
Weagamow Lake*	69	20
Caribou Lake	27	80
Windigo Lake	57	82
Total Taken	153	182

* Makoop Lake, Trapping Territory No. 1, is excluded from the Weagamow Sub-area in this table.

Otter are taken with snares, steel traps, occasionally with deadfalls, and also shot. Stationary snares, although not employed by all trappers, are set in otter trails between two lakes. They are used in October, sometimes during November if there is not too much snow, and during April and May. Steel traps are

set in several ways. The trap may be placed on the bed of a small stream. At each side, between the trap and the banks, sticks are placed to force the otter into the trap and the chain is attached to a long pole. Fish for bait are placed on either side of the trap. This set is used during November, but not later since the streams are then covered with ice, and during the spring. During December, January, and February, a trap may be attached to a pole and placed in deep water under the ice. Fish for bait is secured to the pole above the trap. During the spring a trap is placed in an otter trail and lightly covered with grass with castoreum used as scent. The trap chain is attached to a long dry pole. A much less frequently employed set consists of a pen of sticks constructed either on land or in water. Sometimes a stone pen is used when the set is built on land. The trap is placed just inside the entrance and fish for bait placed at the back of the pen. Besides steel traps and snares, otter are shot during April and May. They are sought about rapids where there is open water.

Muskrat: Muskrats rank fourth in economic importance among the fur bearers caught by the Round Lake Ojibwa. Most are captured during the spring. In 1958-59 slightly over 90% were secured in April and May (Fig. 15). Little trapping is done during the Early and Late Winter periods. They are sometimes shot, but not as extensively as formerly. At present steel traps are commonly employed, and there are several ways in which a trap is set. One way is to bend the brush along the shore down to water level and place the trap on this platform. Alternatively, the trap is secured to a floating log caught in the brush along the shore. Scent is used with these two sets. Occasionally during the winter a trap is fastened to a pole which is then lowered through a hole in the ice and thrust into the bottom of the pond or stream. Green poplar is used for bait.

Ermine, Squirrel, Fisher, Lynx, Fox and Wolves: Other fur bearing mammals are of limited economic importance to the Round Lake Ojibwa. Few are taken except for ermine and squirrels (Table 40).

Fisher, lynx and fox occasionally are taken in stationary snares during the fall and winter. Lynx and fox snares are set in rabbit trails along the shores of lakes and streams or in the bush during winter. Sometimes a lynx snare is constructed with a pen covered with spruce boughs. There is no bait, only scent is used. Lynx snares are used from December to the end of March. During the fall (October) snares for fox are set along the beach of a lake. Sometimes as many as ten are erected. Fox snares are also placed at rapids where the animals come to eat fish. Steel traps are set for lynx, fisher, and marten during the winter. In making a set for the first two species a log is leaned against the base of a tree. A pen of sticks is constructed about the log with the tree trunk forming the back of the pen. The trap is placed on the inclined log at the front of the pen. For fisher, fish is used as bait; for lynx, the head of a hare. Castoreum is employed for scent. The marten set is the same as that for mink in which a pen is built of sticks. The only difference is that the bait for marten is placed high at the back of the pen. Wolves are only very rarely shot or trapped and then only, as a rule, for the Government bounty.

Squirrels are shot and occasionally caught in steel traps set in the entrance to their burrows. Ermine are caught in mink traps and also in traps set at the entrance to their burrows. A small amount of hare meat or fish is used for bait.

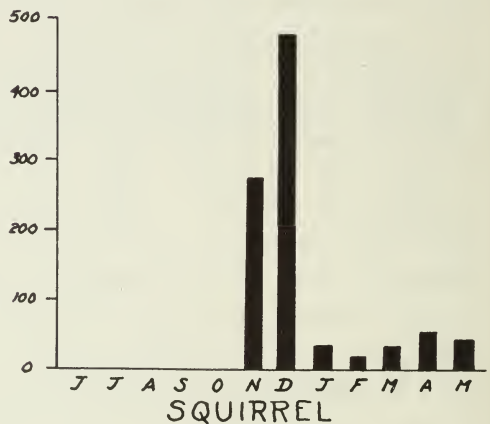
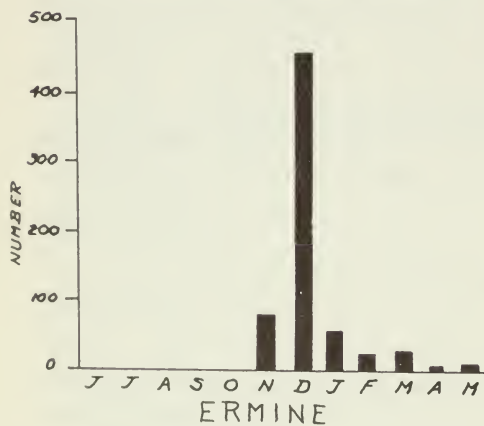
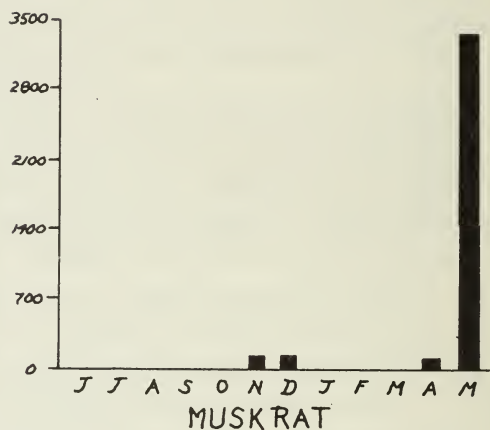
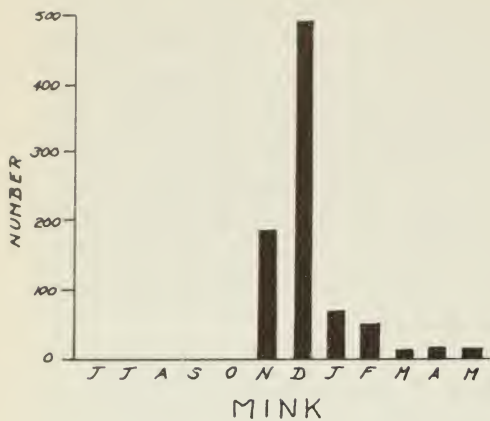


FIG 15 - NUMBERS OF FUR BEARERS SECURED MONTHLY
ROUND LAKE OJIBWA, 1958-1959

These two species are taken principally during November and December (Fig.15).

Moose: The fur bearing animals of the area supply the Round Lake Ojibwa with a cash income, but there are other mammals equally as important which furnish the people with food, and hides for clothing. Moose are one of the most important. They furnish the people with large amounts of meat and with hides for making moccasins and mittens. Although they are killed during the greater part of the year, whenever the opportunity presents itself (Fig. 17), hunts conducted for this main purpose are engaged in during the fall, winter, and sometimes the spring. Little moose hunting is indulged in during the summer. Generally only one or two men hunt together.

Methods of hunting vary with the season and weather conditions. Moose are difficult to capture; yet the Round Lake Ojibwa appear to be extremely skillful in pursuit of this animal. This is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that moose are said to be recent immigrants to the area. Summer, it is claimed, is the most difficult time of year to hunt them, and today few men try it. Nevertheless several techniques are employed, such as still hunting and stalking. During the hot weather of summer, moose often come to swim in a river and eat the water lilies and other aquatic vegetation. If the hunter finds tracks along the shore of a stream, he knows moose are in the area and will return in the evening. Accordingly, the hunter does likewise. If the animal does not come the first night, he may come the second and fall a victim to the waiting hunter. At other times the hunter canoes along the shores of a stream or bay on hot days looking for them, or sometimes a search is made through the bush.

During the fall, moose are sought after the first snow falls. A search is made for tracks and the animal trailed. The manner of tracking is probably similar to that followed during the winter when a technique called onatawa'hike'win is employed.

For onatawa'hike'win to be most effective, the snow should be over two feet deep, otherwise the moose when disturbed can move quickly out of danger. In addition, the weather should be windy and cloudy. If there is blue sky and no wind the moose can hear the hunter and is frequently gone before the animal is seen. In this method the hunter, wearing large pointed snowshoes, proceeds parallel to the trail of the moose and on the leeward side (Fig. 16). At intervals, he alters his direction and heads towards the trail of the moose. If he strikes the trail, he returns to his former route. The hunter either continues in this manner until he finds the moose or sees that the animal has reversed its direction. It is the animal's habit after eating to turn back to the leeward side of its own trail, and lie down to rest. When the hunter discovers that the moose has done this, he now has a good idea where it is located and can move in for the kill. When the man knows he is close, he removes his snowshoes, which are noisy, and proceeds on foot. The hunter may also reverse his parka since the soft inner side makes less noise than the outside when it rubs against a branch. If two men are hunting together one remains where the other left his snowshoes. When he hears shots, he advances rapidly and may be able to kill the moose if it tries to escape in his direction.

Spring is perhaps the best time of all to hunt moose and yet, during the spring of 1959, little hunting was attempted. This may have been correlated in

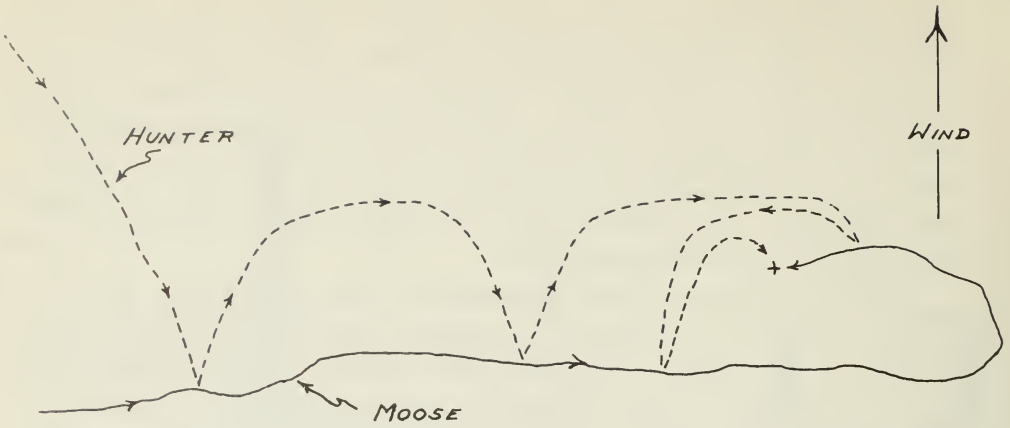


FIG. 16- onatawa-hike-win
MOOSE HUNTING TECHNIQUE

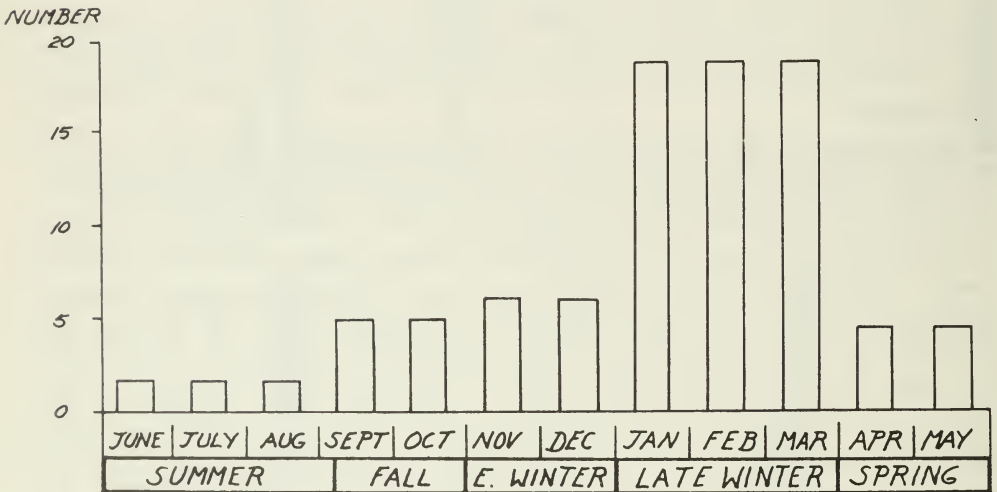


FIG. 17- ESTIMATED NUMBERS OF MOOSE
KILLED MONTHLY, ROUND LAKE OJIBWA, 1958-1959

BASED ON FIGURES SUPPLIED BY 21 HUNTERS FOR EACH PERIOD
DURING 1957-1959

part with the poor snow conditions. For most effective moose hunting a crust on the snow is desirable and for this reason the Round Lake Ojibwa like to have the north wind blow and bring cold weather. There are two ways in which moose can be taken when a crust does form. If the snow is less than two feet deep, dogs, as many as three, are employed. When the tracks of moose are found the dogs are let loose. Although the moose is too heavy to be supported by the crust, he can run rather fast because of the shallow depth of snow, but the dogs supported by the crust, can overtake the animal. When they do, they circle the moose and hold it at bay until the hunter has a chance to arrive. If the snow is deep, dogs are not used. The moose must go quite slowly because of this and the hunter, supported by the crust, can easily overtake the animal.

Caribou: Caribou, in contrast to moose, are of little importance to the Round Lake Ojibwa. While occasionally killed today, they are infrequently sought, perhaps because there are so few in the area (Fig. 18). This is probably not the only reason. Caribou hunting was never stressed and techniques for their capture are minimal. Neither snares, spears, nor the chute and pound have ever been used. Only tracking is practiced. One or two men as a rule work together, occasionally several more. It is during the winter and early spring when the snow is deep and powdery and the weather stormy that hunts are conducted with the express purpose of securing caribou. Since it is a nervous animal and easily frightened, windy weather conceals any noises the hunters might make. Dogs are never used, since caribou are too fast for them regardless of snow conditions. When tracks are found, the men remove their snowshoes and continue without them hoping to surprise the animals. If the snow is not deep, the caribou can easily out-distance the hunters if alerted. On the other hand during the spring, when a light crust forms on the snow the caribou break through. This impedes the animals allowing the hunters to overtake them. The reverse situation is true when a heavy crust forms on the snow. Then the caribou do not break through and can easily escape. Generally after running a few minutes the caribou stop. Sometimes the hunters can advance quickly enough to have an opportunity to shoot. Frequently it is necessary to shoot while the animal is running and in such a case the hunter holds his fire until the animal is descending from a jump.

Bear: Bear, surprisingly enough, are not greatly desired for food by the Round Lake Ojibwa although the animals are said to be numerous. Accordingly they are rarely sought and few are killed (Fig. 18). They are usually secured incidentally by men who are engaged in some other task. In general bear appear to be feared, and in several cases the hunter after he had fired and hit the animal fled from the scene before determining his luck.

Bear may be killed the year around. During early fall they are occasionally shot or taken with a snare and later in the year sometimes discovered in hibernation. When this happens the hunter may kill it with an axe or shoot it. In one case, the hunter tied his knife to the end of a pole and "speared" the animal. During spring bear are tracked or taken in snares set at rapids where the animals come to secure fish. Occasionally a hunter waits during the night at a rapid frequented by bear with the intention of shooting any animals that appear.

Hare: Hares, in certain ways, are the most important mammal captured by

the Round Lake Ojibwa, even though their importance has decreased in recent years. The people recognize and stress their value. They are normally abundant, easily secured, and supply a large and dependable amount of food except during their regular intervals of scarcity. In addition, their skins are still occasionally used to make blankets, parkas, and socks.

Hares are primarily captured during the winter, although a few are taken during the fall and spring (Fig. 18), in stationary wire snares and occasionally shot. Snares are set when the men are traveling on their traplines or between the village and winter camp.

Men, women and boys also make special trips to set snares, the trips lasting from a few hours to a day. The hunter makes a circuit from his camp, perhaps two to three miles in diameter, along which he may set from fifty to one hundred snares. Whenever tracks are seen snares are set. Sometimes the hunter first goes and cuts small Banksian pines which are thrown on top of the snow for the hares to feed upon. Occasionally this is done when the man is making a tour of his trapline. Later, the trapper returns and if he sees tracks, sets his snares. In years of abundance twenty to thirty hares may be caught at one time.

Game Birds: Game birds (grouse and waterfowl) are important at various periods of the year since they provide easily secured supplementary food. Their importance has decreased somewhat from former times. Owls and gray jay are no longer sought. Techniques for the capture of game birds, on the other hand, have changed radically: today, game birds are shot. Snares, nets, and bows and arrows are no longer used, and decoys rarely if ever.

Grouse, or pine (ruffed grouse, sharp-tailed grouse, spruce grouse, ptarmigan), provide substantial amounts of food and a change in diet. Few are taken during the summer but, with the advent of fall and the maturity of broods, active hunting commences.¹ Fall is the most important period although birds are taken all winter and during the spring whenever the opportunity presents itself (Fig. 18). All grouse are shot with a .22 rifle but only spruce grouse are easy to kill in this manner.

Waterfowl are especially important during the spring and fall when they migrate through the area and large numbers are taken. Few are taken in summer. During the spring ducks and geese are hunted from behind blinds, constructed of a few trees and branches (conifers) placed parallel to the shore and extending to a height of several feet. Behind this the hunter crouches waiting for the birds to draw near. Sometimes during the spring, a blind of branches is erected in the bow of a canoe. Branches of hardwood trees are used when hunting loons and spruce boughs when hunting ducks. The branches are held in place with string. Two men go together, attempting to approach within shooting distance. Loons are also hunted without the aid of a blind. In this case when the loon dives, the hunters observe carefully the trail of bubbles indicating the direction the bird has taken, and follow. With experience a man can predict approximately where the loon will surface and be there waiting. Loons are said to be hard to hunt during the summer but relatively easy just before freeze-up. When geese are

1. This does not apply to ptarmigan which only enter the area during the winter and then apparently in small numbers.

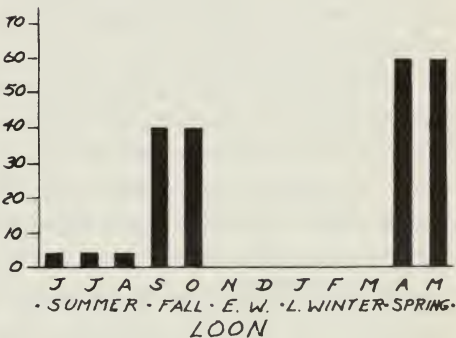
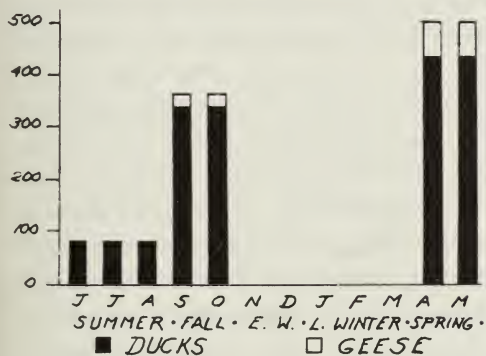
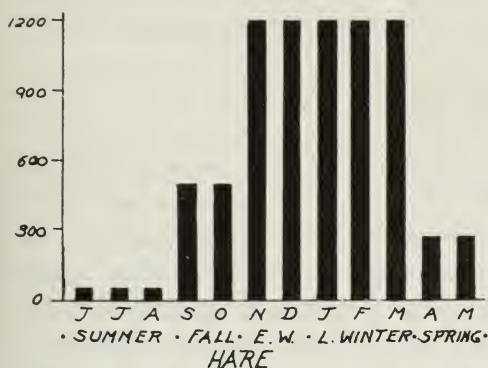
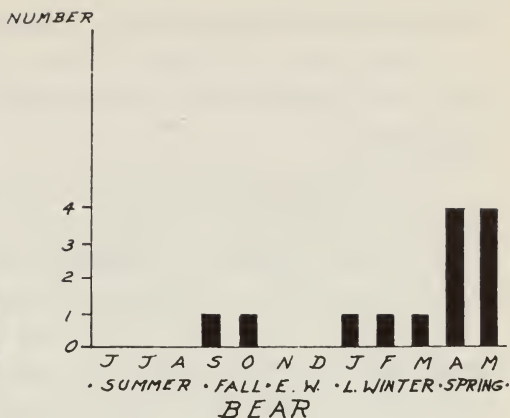
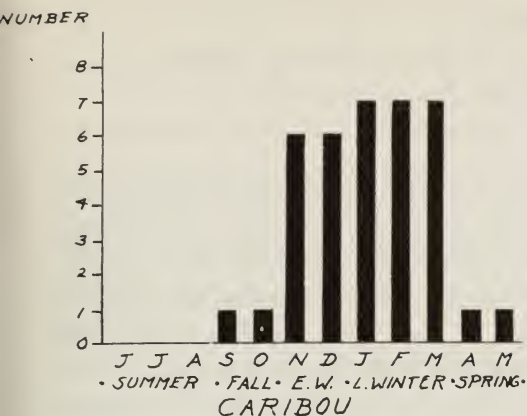


FIG. 18 - ESTIMATED NUMBERS OF PARTICULAR SPECIES
 KILLED MONTHLY, ROUND LAKE OJIBWA, 1958-1959
 BASED ON FIGURES SUPPLIED BY 21 HUNTERS FOR EACH PERIOD
 DURING 1957-1958

hunted from a canoe, the craft is beached when the birds are seen and the hunters go through the bush until they are opposite the birds and in a position to shoot. During the fall most hunting of ducks, geese and loons is carried out from a canoe, but generally only during calm weather.

During June, gull and tern rookeries are sought and the eggs taken for eating. The birds themselves are never killed for food.

Collecting:

The collecting of vegetal foods, and to a certain extent medicinal plants, is of limited importance. During the summer a few berries such as bilberries, skunk currants, bearberry, raspberries, and gooseberries are gathered by the women and especially the children. The berries are usually consumed immediately: only bilberries are occasionally preserved for the winter. A few of the older people still sometimes collect small quantities of tripe de roche to eat. This is the extent to which vegetal foods are utilized at present. A few medicinal plants are still gathered and used. Mint and wi'hke'nš are collected during the summer, and the leaves of Labrador Tea can be collected at any time of the year. These three are the most important, others rarely if ever used.

Game Dressing, Preservation and Storage of Food:

Introduction: The processing and storage of game, fish and vegetal foods have not changed basically during the past fifty years. Although the techniques have remained much the same, new tools for dressing game and containers for the storage of the processed food have been acquired from the traders. Steel knives have replaced those of bone; cardboard boxes those of birchbark; and glass bottles have been substituted for fish skins. There has been, however, a decrease in the utilization of native food resources now that Euro-Canadian foods have been made available. Although with the rise of the fur trade, there has been an increase in hide working for this market, but the techniques have remained the same as formerly.

Fish: Fish have always been and still are one of the basic and fundamental resources of the Round Lake Ojibwa. They are dressed in a variety of ways depending on the species and its intended use. Whitefish, the most important food fish, is scaled with a knife and the central ventral fins removed. From this point there are two ways of finishing the job. In one, the tail is detached and then a cut made in the side of the throat which is continued down the dorsal line along the side of the backbone and extending into the body cavity. Next, intestines and head are removed. The resultant slab of flesh is sometimes cut in half and diagonal cuts are made in the flesh from the skin side. In the second method, the head is removed first. Then cuts are made along either side of the backbone from the dorsal side starting at the neck and continuing to the tail. The flesh is now freed from the tail, and the rib cage severed from the backbone and belly flesh. Cuts are made in the flesh from the inner surface. After the fish is dressed, regardless of which method is used, the slab of fish is washed in water. It can now be cooked and eaten immediately, or dried and prepared for fish powder.

Species other than whitefish are infrequently used for food by the people

themselves. If they are, the method of dressing is a variant of either the above two patterns. If the fish is being prepared for immediate consumption, the head is removed and the body cut along the dorso-ventral plane to the tail. The latter is left attached to the two slabs of flesh. It is then washed and hung over a horizontal pole, one half on each side.

As the fish are dressed, the backbones are placed in a separate pile. Later these are washed, thin poles thrust through them near the posterior ends, and then hung up. The livers are removed from the intestines and the latter squeezed to remove their contents and set aside to be prepared for food. Sometimes the gills are removed from the heads and placed in a pail of water for later preparation. The roe of whitefish is saved. In the latter part of September and during October large quantities of it can be seen hanging on horizontal poles throughout the village to dry.

Fish for sale, dog food, and trap bait are dressed in an extremely simple manner. When they are to be sold to the fish buyers, whitefish and walleye are merely cut through the throat from the ventral side to the spinal column. The head is left attached. Next a slit is made from the throat along the ventral line to the posterior end of the body cavity. The intestines and blood are scraped out with a knife. Fish for dog food and trap bait, if dressed at all, are treated in substantially the same way. After the fish are dressed a thin pole is thrust through the body just behind the head by which they can be suspended on cache racks.

During the summer, fish powder is prepared from large numbers of whitefish. Rarely, if ever, is any prepared later than the middle of October. After being dressed as described above, the whitefish are dried and partially smoked over a small fire. Several forms of outdoor drying racks are employed. The fish may be hung directly on the rack, or a thin pole may be thrust through a number of slabs of flesh and this hung on the rack. In place of outdoor drying racks, the Round Lake Ojibwa frequently employ a smoke lodge. The fish are hung inside and thereby protected from the elements. If outside racks are used, the fish are covered with canvas or strips of spruce bark whenever it rains. Fires under the racks and in the smoke lodges are kept burning during the day. Every morning all summer long, the women of the village can be seen bustling about getting these fires started, and during the day tending them and the drying fish.

The smoke lodge, a small replica of the earth covered conical lodge formerly used as a dwelling, is eight to twelve feet in diameter and eight to twelve feet high. It is constructed of poles set in a circle six inches or slightly more apart interlocking at the top. The older lodges are covered with moss and sometimes reeds to within a short distance of the top. Sheets of birchbark made of pieces sewn together and/or spruce bark are placed over the moss. These sheets are held in place by poles leaning against the structure. Recently constructed lodges are covered with slabs from the sawmill set on end and leaning against the foundation of poles. No moss or bark is used. Between two of the foundation poles space is left for a doorway. This is trapezoidal in shape, about two feet wide at the bottom and four to five feet high. The doorway is covered with canvas, a blanket, or a wooden door. Inside the lodge at the centre is a small fireplace. Two to three feet above the fire is a drying rack of horizontal sticks supported

on four uprights. Four to five and a half feet about the floor, usually to one side, is a second rack of poles which is secured to the walls of the lodge. The floor is covered with spruce boughs.

After the slabs of fish have been thoroughly dried the women pick the flesh from the skin with their fingers. The skins are thrown away and the meat is placed in a large metal basin. This basin, made from the bottom of a gasoline drum, is about one and a half feet in diameter and six inches deep.¹ After a sufficient amount has been placed in the basin, the meat is broken up with the fingers and the remaining bones removed. The pieces of flesh are sometimes crumbled by rubbing them in the palm of one hand with the fingers of the other. The basin is now tilted over a very small smoldering fire. As the fish is heated it is stirred with a wooden spoon. Occasionally, pieces are broken finer with the fingers and bones removed. Fish that adheres to the bottom of the basin is scraped off with a knife. Ideally the process is continued until the fish is of fine consistency, without bones, and white in colour. This goal is rarely reached. Even so a woman spends a good many hours preparing a single batch of fish powder.

When fish are to be used in the immediate future they are not made into fish powder, but are hung on horizontal poles near the home. They are not covered in any way to protect them from the weather or the flies. This is done during the summer and fall, when during cool weather, fish can be kept for a number of days in this manner. During the winter fish are preserved by freezing.

Whitefish roe is hung on horizontal poles to dry in the air and sun. After the roe is thoroughly dry it is taken down, placed in a frying pan, and heated slightly over a small fire. As it is heated, it is mashed with a wooden spoon. During the process, the roe is cooked and dried forming a slab an inch or so thick. This is then stored for later use.

Fish heads and intestines provide oil. The excess fat is removed from the intestines by pulling they between the thumb and forefinger. After this is done the heads and intestines are boiled in water. As the oil rises to the surface it is skimmed off with a wooden spoon. The oil that is removed is again boiled to drive off any remaining water.

Fish powder is stored in cardboard or birchbark boxes. The latter are of trapezoidal shape, made with the outer surface of the bark inside, and closed at the top by tying the two sides together. Although one informant claimed that a rectangular birchbark box is used, none was seen. After the box is filled a cover of bark is placed on top and sewn securely to the edges with split spruce roots. Fish oil is stored in glass bottles or containers made from the air bladder or skin of northern pike.

Fish stored for dog food or trap bait are hung on a cache rack. This is a rectangular platform of poles about seven feet above the ground and supported by a post at each corner. Sometimes instead of a platform two poles are attached to a pair of uprights, parallel to each other. Across these two horizontal poles, thin poles thrust through the fish are laid. Fish to be sold commercially are stored in an ice house, packed in ice during the summer and buried in the snow in winter to keep them from freezing.

1. A large frying pan is sometimes used instead.

Mammals: There are several ways in which mammals are dressed depending on the species and its intended use. Moose and caribou are dressed and processed in substantially the same way. At the present time, after a kill has been made, the animal is dressed where it falls and the meat transported to camp.¹ If the distance is not great, the women are said to do this, although no actual cases were recorded.

As soon as a kill of moose or caribou has been made, the hunter builds a fire, melts snow for tea and warms his knife. The animal is now dressed. The carcass is rolled onto its back, the hide cut around the neck and then slit along the ventral line from the neck to the crotch and down the inside of each leg to the proximal end of the cannon bone. Following this the hide is removed from the carcass with the aid of a knife. Next each cannon bone and hoof are detached. Now the intestines and stomach are freed. To do this, the tissues are cut along the posterior edge of the rib cage from the ventral side to the backbone and then rearward along the backbone to the crotch. After this has been done the contents of the stomach cavity can be removed. The next step is to sever the legs from the spinal column. After this the rib cage is cut along both sides of the sternum to free it. Then with a knife or axe the ribs are severed from the backbone. Next, the head is cut off, if this had not been done at the beginning. Following this, the hunter grasps the oesophagus and trachea and pulls, ripping out the lungs and heart from the chest cavity. Finally, the backbone is cut in half with an axe.

Sometimes the hunter does not have time to butcher the animal immediately. In that case a short slit is made along the ventral line, the contents of the body cavity removed and the carcass buried under the snow so it will not freeze before the hunter can return to finish the job.

After the animal has been butchered, the head and cannon bones are processed. To prepare the head, a cut is made in the underside of the jaw, the tongue pulled through the opening and cut off. Next the antlers are removed with an axe and the head is skinned. After this is done the nose and upper lip are removed in one piece and the lower lip detached with the tissue part way back on the jaw. Finally, the skull is cut into small pieces with an axe. The cannon bones are skinned by slitting down the anterior side and peeling off the hide. Then the cannon bone is detached from the hoof.

If the dressed carcass is not to be taken to camp immediately, it is cached. If it is to be left for more than three days a cache rack is built and the meat placed on this. If left for less than three days, the meat is buried in the snow.

To transport the meat to camp a toboggan pulled by a dog team is used as a rule. Sometimes the meat of caribou is wrapped in the hide and dragged into camp by one or two men. If they have no rope they may cut the hide in strips with which to drag the load.

Moose and caribou meat are preserved for future use in one of two ways. The most common is to freeze it. This, of course, is not possible in warm weather, but very few moose are killed then and those that are, are immediately distributed to a majority of the members of the village and soon consumed. The second method of preservation, more commonly employed in the past than at

1. Formerly, the entire camp would have been moved to the carcass.

present, is to dry the meat. It is cut in strips and hung inside the house or on an uncovered drying rack, erected outside. Under the outside rack a small fire is built by which the meat is partially dried, sufficiently to prevent it from spoiling. After it is dried it is packed in a cardboard box.

Bear are dressed in substantially the same way as moose and caribou. The animal may be butchered where it is killed or first brought into camp. It is not required that it be dressed inside the lodge as is the custom farther east in the sub-arctic. In dressing a bear, the first thing done is to make a cut completely about the junction of the feet with the legs. Next, a cut is made in the hide starting at the chin and extending along the ventral line to the tail and down the inside of each leg. After the hide has been removed, the legs are severed from the backbone, cuts are made through the ribs along the sides of the sternum and the latter removed, and finally the ribs are cut from the backbone. The few bear that are taken are usually soon consumed, but the meat can be dried like moose and caribou for future use.

Beaver, being a relatively small mammal in comparison to moose, caribou, and bear, are generally transported to camp before being dressed. Large beaver are dragged over the snow by means of a cord attached to the head of the animal. Any type of cord is used, not the ni'ma'pa'n of the Montagnais-Naskapi to the east. First the contents of the body cavity are removed, and the tail detached and placed inside the body cavity. After reaching camp the hide is removed by making a cut at the chin and extending it along the ventral line to the base of the tail. Then with the aid of a knife the hide is peeled off either side of the carcass and finally completely freed by cutting around the wrists and ankles. After this the carcass is dismembered. Generally the meat is eaten immediately but occasionally it is dried. The tail is also prepared for eating. To do this a sharpened stick is thrust into the base of the tail and it is held over a fire. This loosens the scales which can now be peeled off.

All other fur bearing animals, except wolves, are skinned in a different manner. These include mink, ermine, otter, lynx, fisher, fox, marten, muskrat, skunk, squirrel and hare. To do this a slit is made along the inside of one leg to the crotch and then down the inside of the other leg. The tail is pulled free with the aid of a split stick, except in the case of muskrats where it is severed from the pelt. After this the hide is peeled off the body and over the head. As this is done the hide is removed from the top of each foot. The final step is to slit the tail open.

Occasionally mink and ermine are skinned another way. The hide is cut and peeled back from the mouth, over the head, and then off the rest of the body and legs. It is cut free of the carcass at the wrists and ankles and over the top of each foot. Finally, the tail is extracted from the pelt with the aid of a split stick.

Wolves are said to be dressed "open." The hide is cut from the chin along the ventral line to the crotch and then down the inside of each leg. The pelt is freed from the carcass and legs and over the tops of the paws. The tail is skinned in the same manner as mink. After the hide is removed from the tail it is cut so as to open out flat.

Porcupine, on the rare occasions when they are killed, are first singed in a fire to remove the quills. Next, the carcass is scraped to clean it of all charred

remains, quills and hair. The feet are cut off and a slit made from the chin along the ventral line so that the intestines may be removed. It is now dismembered and ready for cooking.

Vegetal Foods: Plant foods were more important in the diet of the Round Lake Ojibwa in the past than at present. Today sour-top bilberries (ani^onimina^on)¹ and bilberries (nihkimina^on)¹ are the only ones stored and these only in small quantities. The berries are first boiled in water. When they thicken, they are removed and placed on a new strip of birchbark or in dishes. Those on the birchbark are taken outside and dried in the sun. Those in a dish are placed behind the stove and dried there. Occasionally they are stirred as they dry. The dried berries are stored in a birchbark box. A few berries are canned. In addition to berries, tripe de roche (assini^owa^ohkon) is occasionally collected and saved for later use. No preparation is necessary, the lichen being put directly in a bag and stored.

Food and its Preparation:

The Round Lake Ojibwa are not as preoccupied with food as, for example are the Mistassini Cree². The country inhabited by the Round Lake people is rather abundantly supplied with edible species of plants, animals, birds and fish. The Ojibwa take full advantage of this although not to the extent they previously did. There are few stories of famine and actual starvation in former days and at present such events never occur since Government relief is assured.

There are few items that are not considered fit to eat. At the present time, there are a number which are rarely if ever used for food. The most numerous items in this class are the berries and other vegetal foods. Today, only sour-top bilberries, bilberries, and a few others are collected to a limited extent. There are seven, perhaps eight, species of vertebrates which it is explicitly stated are not eaten - dog, wolf(?), skunk, ermine, raven, crow, snake, and toad. Others such as bat, chipmunk, mouse, shrew, song birds, small species of fish, and insects, were never observed to be eaten and presumably never are.

Although the Round Lake Ojibwa as a group eat a wide range of native foods (Table 51), individuals have particular things that they cannot or do not like to eat. These include animals, primarily, but also occasionally fish and birds. Those recorded were caribou, bear, otter, beaver, woodchuck, porcupine, red fox, fisher, northern pike, swans and "fish ducks." One informant said there were three animals he could not eat, but generally an individual avoids only one or perhaps two.

There was no consistent pattern as to why foods were avoided. Each informant tended to have his own reasons. One informant said that in his "mind" he couldn't eat a particular animal. Another man could not eat pike because when he did, he vomited. In another case a woman was reported as unable to eat or smell caribou. If someone carried caribou into his own house and then went to visit her, she would become ill. In this case it was thought she had inherited the taboo from her father or more likely from her father's father, who had "power".

1. This is the word for the berry. That given in the list of plants, page 23 is for the plant.
2. Roger, Edward S. and Jean H. Rogers. 1959. "The Yearly Cycle of the Mistassini Indians," Arctic, Vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 130-138.

Another informant said that food taboos were the result of a pawa'mowin (dream).

An informant stated that if a person became sick each time he ate a particular animal, he would then no longer eat this. If it is a young child, the parents no longer feed it to him. When the child grows up he can again try this meat for himself to see if it still disagrees with him. Another informant stated that his food taboos, otter and bear, were due to the fact that he was always sick whenever he ate them. He added that since he could obtain "nice" food in the store, country food did not taste good to him, but that he still was very fond of fish powder, fish oil and sour-top bilberries mixed together. Another informant said he didn't eat particular foods because he simply didn't like their taste.

These cases sound like food preferences rather than genuine food taboos. In part this is probably true, and yet data for the old days clearly indicate food taboos. Today's situation can be interpreted as a modification of the old pattern. Furthermore, these food taboos clearly reflect the great individual variation which exists among the Round Lake Ojibwa, variation which is patterned within their cultural framework. It exists in all aspects of culture and is especially strong in religion, appearing only to a lesser extent in economics. In general native foods are eaten whenever they are available during the year. Several species are considered better eating at particular ages or certain times of year. Muskrats are best in May, and loons in the fall. Loons are too "strong" when they arrive in the spring. Immature gulls are eaten but not the adults since they live on fish. Bird's eggs are good to eat when they are first laid but not later, as is the custom among some other peoples.

There are certain foods which take precedence over all others. Fish are probably eaten in larger quantities than other foods (Fig. 19), and as often as three times a day. Whitefish are considered the best eating, aside from lake trout and sturgeon which are difficult to secure. Walleyes are considered very good. Although fish are basic to the diet and enjoyed, one informant said that it was hard to have fish for breakfast, fish for lunch, and fish for supper. Moose and caribou together rival fish in importance, and are considered very good food. Bear, on the other hand, are not highly thought of as food. Some people simply will not eat bear, others eat only a little. One informant contended that the meat was "strong." Hare are very important and are highly esteemed. Other species that are enjoyed are beaver, ducks, geese, and loons. All other species that are eaten are not regarded as highly and, in general, are not taken in any numbers. Finally, it is not considered very good to eat fat in large amounts. It is said that if a person eats too much he will not "feel good." This applies both to fat obtained from the stores and to that from animals and fish. Because of this attitude little fat is consumed, not over a few ounces, on the average, being eaten per day per person by Round Lake Ojibwa.

Store food is becoming more and more important in the diet of the people, although it does not yet amount to more than a quarter or a third of all food consumed. Basic items consist of flour, oatmeal, sugar, milk (canned and powdered), lard, and tea. Other store foods bought in much smaller quantities are rice, beans, pilot biscuits, macaroni, canned and fresh meats, cheese and salt.

All food is prepared basically in one of two ways. It is either boiled, or roasted on a spit (a'powana'hk) beside a fire. Boiling is by far the most common method, and apparently practically all species of mammal, bird and fish are

TABLE 51

Native Foods Eaten by the Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

<u>Mammals</u>	<u>Birds</u>	<u>Fish</u>
Varying Hare	Loon (both species)	Sturgeon
Woodchuck	Grebe	Lake Trout
Beaver	<u>wa'pisi'</u>	Lake Whitefish
Muskrat	Canada Goose	Sucker (both species)
Porcupine	<u>we'hwe'</u>	Northern Pike
Red Fox	Ducks	Burbot
Bear	<u>pine'</u>	Perch
Marten (?)	<u>še'sše'sši</u>	Walleye
Fisher	Gull, immature	
Mink	<u>mahkate'wiko'hko'hkoho'</u>	
Otter	<u>wa'pike'hko'hkoho</u>	
Lynx		
Moose		
Caribou		
<u>Eggs</u>	<u>Roe</u>	<u>Liver</u>
<u>pine</u>	Sturgeon	Varying Hare
Tem	Lake Whitefish	Beaver
Gull	Sucker (both species)	Moose
Goldeneye	Northern Pike	Caribou
	Burbot	Loon (both species)
	Perch	Canada Goose
	Walleye	Northern Pike
<u>Heart</u>	<u>Intestines</u>	<u>Miscellaneous</u>
Moose	Varying Hare	Varying Hare Ears
Caribou	Lake Trout	Beaver Tail
		Porcupine Tail
		Otter Head
		Moose Marrow
		Moose Lips
		Moose Nose
		Caribou Tongue

cooked in this way. Moose meat, for instance, is cut in rather thin and narrow strips eight to ten inches long. These are placed in a kettle of water and allowed to boil for most of the day so that they will be ready for the evening meal. Boiled moose meat is sometimes carried on the trail. To warm it for eating, snow is melted in a frying pan after which the meat is added and brought to the boil. If the weather is very cold, the meat is carried in a rabbit skin to keep it from freezing. Bear meat is smoked for a few hours before it is boiled and is tradi-

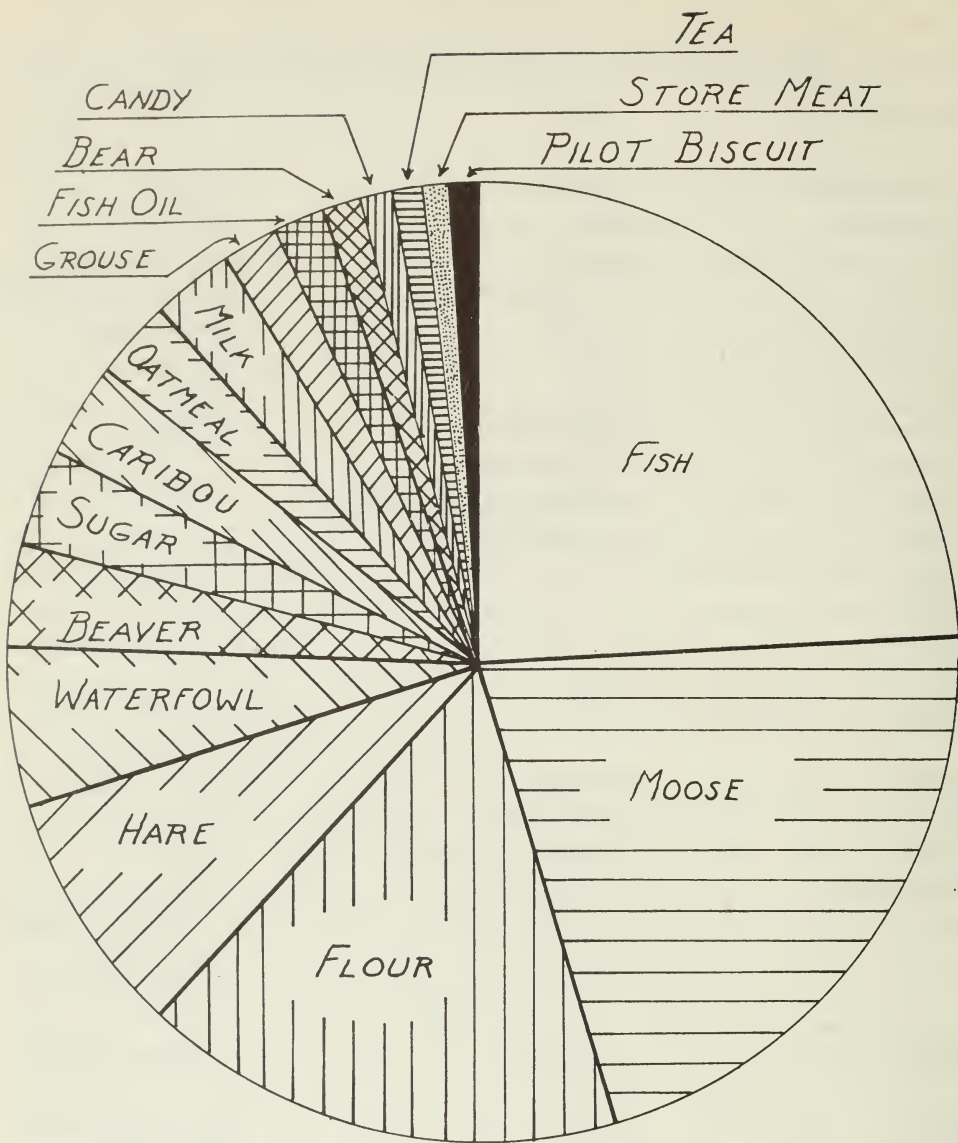


FIG. 19 - PERCENTAGES OF ESTIMATED AMOUNTS OF FOOD CONSUMED, ROUND LAKE OJIBWA, 1958-1959

tionally smoked before it is distributed to others. The bones of moose and caribou are broken with an axe, boiled, and the broth drunk. Sometimes the cannon bones are boiled before they are broken to extract the marrow to eat. Eggs are boiled until hard. Oatmeal is boiled without salt or lard being added.

Some food is cooked on a spit. There are various shapes and sizes of spits depending on what is to be cooked. Moose jaws and shoulder blades, hares, fish, pine, mink, slabs of moose meat, are all cooked in this manner.

Bannock is a staple food eaten with practically every meal. It is made of flour mixed with baking powder and water. After the dough is prepared it is placed in a frying pan containing melted lard and cooked on a stove or open fire. After one side has been done, the bannock is turned over and the other side cooked. Instead of lard, fish oil is sometimes used. Although fish are fried, this seems to be a rare practice.

Usually, each food is prepared separately, but there are at least two composite dishes. One consists of tripe de roche (asini'wa'hkon) boiled with fish roe, heads of suckers (name'pin), or hare livers. Sometimes both fish heads and hare livers are used together. This dish is infrequently prepared today, and then only by the older members of the community. It seems to have lost favour with the younger generation. The other composite dish consists of fish powder mixed with fish oil and raspberries or blueberries. It is eaten this way without further preparation.

Hide Working:

Hide working among the Round Lake Ojibwa is an extremely important activity. Hides are prepared for sale to the traders and for home use. The preparation of pelts for sale is a relatively simple matter but preparing hides, such as caribou and moose, for home use is a rather long, tedious, and complicated undertaking. The women do most of the work.

Moose hides are the most important of any prepared for home use and are used to make the moccasins and mittens essential to life in the sub-arctic. There are ten or eleven distinct steps in the preparation of a moose hide. The first is to remove the hair and adherent fat and flesh. To do this a stake from three to five feet long is driven into the ground. The hide is draped over the stake with the hair side uppermost. An edge of the hide is grasped in the left hand, a knife in the right, and the operator then removes the hair by cutting away from his body. After the hair has been taken off the hide is turned over and any adherent fat and flesh removed. When this has been done, holes are cut along the edge of the hide in preparation for the next step.

The second step can only be performed during the winter. The hide is soaked in water and then taken out of doors and laced in a four pole frame. Here it is allowed to freeze. After the hide has become frozen, it is scraped on both sides with a metal scraper (ma'tahikon), thinning it to an even thickness. Following this the hide is brought inside and placed in a tub of warm water. While it is in the water the woman works the hide with her hands for from one to two hours. Next the hide is rubbed with a mixture of brains, or sometimes, oatmeal and fish livers.¹ After this it is again taken outside without being wrung out

1. One informant said this was done after the hide had been frost dried.

and suspended from a horizontal pole ten to twelve feet above the ground by cords attached to one edge of the hide. It is left hanging here for one or two weeks in a frozen condition in order that it may "frost dry" and become soft through wind action.

The fifth step is to bring the hide inside the dwelling and hang it near the ceiling so that it may thaw and become "smoky." A tent with an open fire is good for this. During the summer the hide may be placed in a smoke lodge, the same as used for drying fish. This part of the process takes from one to three weeks.

Next the hide is placed in warm water and worked with the hands and occasionally some sections are scraped with a knife. Following this, it is rolled up and the ends tied together to form a hoop. The hoop of hide is placed over a stake and a stick, about three feet long and two to three inches in diameter, is then inserted through the hoop opposite the stake. The stick is turned, twisting the hide and forcing the water out. After this, there are two ways to proceed depending on the time of year. During the winter after the water has been expelled, two women grasp the hide, one at each end, and pull it to break down the tissues and make it pliable. During the summer the hide is placed instead on a four pole frame. The frame and hide are inclined at an angle over a small fire. As the hide dries it is beaten and scraped with an axe, canoe paddle, or a special stick three to six feet long and flattened at the working end.

The final step is to smoke the hide. It is folded in half and the edges - all but one - sewn together. The "bag" thus formed is suspended between two stakes with the opening at the bottom. A pail containing burning no'hkici'ssak (rotten white birch or sometimes aspen wood) is placed under the opening with the edges of the opening about the top of the pail. As the wood smolders, the smoke enters the bag and permeates the hide. When the inside has reached the proper degree of smoking the "bag" is turned inside out and the process repeated for the other side. The hide is now ready to be made into moccasins and mittens.

Preparation of a caribou hide is slightly different from that of a moose. For one thing, the tail is left attached until work on the hide is finished. It is said that this makes the hide easier to work.¹ After the hair, fat, and flesh have been removed the hide is placed on a beaming pole and scraped with a knife or bone beamer made from the cannon bone of a caribou split lengthwise with edges sharpened. Since caribou hide is thin it is not scraped with a ma'-tahkan, nor is it laced in a four pole frame and worked with an axe or paddle to complete the softening before smoking. Otherwise, the processing is the same as for a moose hide.

Bear skins are prepared with the hair left attached. The hide is hung over a vertical stake with the flesh side uppermost and the fat and flesh cut off. Next, holes are cut along the edge of the hide and it is laced on a four pole frame or nailed to a wall to dry. Nothing else is done.

1. This suggests some religious significance but no information could be elicited.

The pelts of fur bearing mammals are prepared in one of two ways - "open" or "cased" - depending on the species. Beaver pelts are dressed "open" and laced on an oval frame¹. After it is stretched in the frame the pelt is scraped slightly on the flesh side with a knife and is then left to dry. The pelts from all other fur bearers, with the possible exception of wolf, are "cased." The pelt is dried on either a three piece or a two piece stretcher. In either case the process is the same. The hide is pulled loosely over the mould, flesh side out, and then scraped. For muskrats and similarly low priced pelts little scraping is done. More time is spent on otter and mink. Sometimes fifteen to thirty minutes are necessary to scrape an otter hide properly. After the pelt is scraped it is pulled tight and the edges nailed to the mould. A spreader is now inserted on one side of the mould and under the hide. After it is in place, a wedge is thrust between the spreader and the mould at the posterior end. If it is an otter pelt, the wedge is driven into place with an axe. If the otter pelt is an exceptionally strong one, an additional wedge is inserted between the mould and the spreader at the anterior end and similarly driven into place. After the pelt has been secured, it is hung up to dry; during winter inside the home and in spring outside on a cache rack. Only twelve to twenty-four hours are necessary for a pelt to dry.

Preparation of hare skins is extremely simple. No stretcher is used: the skin is turned inside out and dried unless it is to be used for making blankets or jackets. For these it is cut into long strips, before being dried. Starting at either end the hide is cut spirally with a knife resulting in a strip about ten feet long and about one inch wide. One end of the strip is then inserted in the split end of a small stick which is rotated between the palms of the hands always in the same direction. After thorough twisting, the hide is stretched taut by two people. Each holds an end and pulls, and the spin travels along the length of the strip forming a cord covered with fur. Several of these are tied together and hung outside during February and March for about two days to dry. When dry, they are rolled into balls one to two feet in diameter and stored on a cache rack.

Lumbering:

Lumbering is of two types. On the one hand, it is done to supply each family with firewood and, on the other, logs are cut on Government order to supply the sawmill in the village of Round Lake.

Given a cultural pattern requiring some form of heating and cooking of foods, wood for fuel is basic to the life of the Round Lake Ojibwa since, at present, there is no alternative product which can be used. Firewood is collected throughout the year. It is needed at all times for cooking and even during the summer and early fall extra supplies of firewood are collected by those families who are going to remain in the village for the winter. The families who move into the bush for the winter secure their supply after reaching the winter camp. Black spruce and aspen are the principal trees utilized. Occasionally during the winter, green white birch is gathered for fires during the night. This is done during the coldest weather to hold the fire over night, since it burns more slowly and holds its heat longer than other species.

1. See Table 52 for types of stretchers used for particular species.

TABLE 52

Types of Stretchers for Particular Species of Mammals,
Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Species of Mammal	<u>Type of Stretchers</u>					
	Four pole frame	Hoop frame	Three piece stretcher	Two piece stretcher		No Stretcher
				Single	Double	
Varying Hare						x
Red Squirrel				x	x	
Beaver		x				
Muskrat				x	x	
Bear	x					
Marten			x			
Fisher			x			
Ermine			x	x		
Mink			x			
Otter			x			
Moose	x					
Caribou	x					

Firewood for the residents of the village is generally secured at some distance from the settlement. This is due to the fact that most of the area immediately adjacent to the village has been cut-over in years past and now supports only small growth. Nevertheless, since the settlement is young, a man does not have to go more than a mile or two for his firewood. During the summer wood is secured along the shores of Weagamow Lake and transported home by canoe. During the winter wood is gathered in the area behind the village and brought home by dog team. At winter camps there is an abundant supply of trees for firewood in close proximity to the cabins and, therefore, transportation is a minor problem.

Before the logs are transported to camp, the bark is removed. After they are hauled to camp they are placed horizontally if already dry, or if still green stacked in tipi fashion so that they will dry more quickly. Later, the dried logs are sawn into stove lengths. Logs are supported for sawing on a sawhorse, and cut with a bucksaw or occasionally a gas-powered handsaw. If a bucksaw is used the women generally do the work, but only men operate the power saw. Wood is split by the women and older girls, occasionally the men. After it is split, if there is a surplus, it is piled neatly near the home. Generally no extra supply is split, and it is a daily task to prepare enough for the next twenty-four hours.

A man spends a total of from two to three months each year cutting firewood for his family and for his needs while on the trapline. Depending on the size of the home, between six and twelve cords of firewood are burned in a year. The average is about ten cords. Additional supplies are necessary at the trapping camp (Table 53). An estimated 550 cords of firewood are burned each year by

the Round Lake Ojibwa. In addition the Round Lake Ojibwa supply the resident Euro-Canadians with approximately 50 cords. Nearly 400 cords of the total number used come from the immediate vicinity of the village. No longer do the Round Lake Ojibwa move to the supply of firewood now that they have adopted a settled village life. Accordingly, the men have found it necessary to move farther and farther from the village each year to secure the necessary supply.

TABLE 53

Estimated Amounts of Firewood Used Annually by the Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

	350 cords used by the Round Lake Ojibwa in the village.
	100 cords used by the Round Lake Ojibwa in the winter camps.
	100 cords used by the Round Lake Ojibwa on the trapline
	50 cords used by the Euro-Canadians in the village.
<hr/>	
Total	600 cords

Besides cutting logs for firewood, the Round Lake Ojibwa men also cut logs for the sawmill to be processed into boards and planks. In 1956 a sawmill was built at Weagamow Lake by the Indian Affairs Department. Since then, there has been a periodic need for logs to be sawn into building material for the construction of homes in the village. The times at which logs are cut is at the discretion of Indians Affairs personnel and varies from year to year. During the period of field work, logs were cut during August, September, October, January and March. Since needs are minimal, only one or two weeks in any one month are spent in this work and few men engaged (Table 54). For cutting logs a crew of from six to eleven men move into the bush and remain for a week at a time. Trees are cut and the logs hauled to the lakeshore. They are transported to the sawmill only when there is open water and a canoe can be employed. A number of logs are tied together and towed to the site. Only one or two men are engaged in transporting them. At a minimum, an estimated 1500 logs were cut and hauled to the sawmill between July 1958 and June 1959.

TABLE 54

Number of Men Engaged in Logging Operations and at the Sawmill, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Employment	<u>Month</u>											
	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M
Logging	-	-	7	6-7	6-11	-	-	6-10	-	6-11	-	-
Sawmill	10	-	-	6	4-6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The sawing of the logs into boards and planking is only undertaken during the summer months. Few men are engaged (Table 54), and only for a few weeks.

One or two Euro-Canadians, of European and/or Indian racial extraction, and one Ojibwa or Cree of another community come to Weagamow Lake to organize the work and operate the sawmill. Those individuals of Indian extraction whom the Government sends to Weagamow Lake are generally soon resented. They become targets for derogatory remarks and malicious gossip. This is true also of Euro-Canadians of European extraction, although they are generally given a longer period of probation. They are more easily accepted as "bosses" by the Round Lake Ojibwa, whereas Indians from other communities do not have the prestige or status needed for leadership and are distrusted because they are outsiders.

In addition to firewood and logs for the sawmill, few logs are cut each year and transported to the village in anticipation of building new cabins, or for some Government project such as causeways or buildings in which un-sawn logs are used. These are generally few in number. During fieldwork no cabins were built in the village but some logs were collected for the future construction of two.

Cutting Ice and Construction Work:

Lake ice is used during the summer for the preservation of fish to be sold commercially. Each winter for the past several years Round Lake Ojibwa men have cut and stored ice in special buildings, and ice houses have been erected on most of the larger lakes in the area. On Weagamow Lake there are four; the three nearest the village are of board construction, and sawdust from the mill is used as insulation. The other is of log construction and sphagnum moss is used to cover the ice. Three of the ice houses were built by Indian Affairs and the other by an independent fish buyer. Three were filled with ice during late February and early March of 1959. Six to ten men were employed for this work (Table 55). In addition, one ice house was filled at Windigo Lake, again an Indian Affairs project, by one man and his two teenage sons. At Caribou Lake there were at least two ice houses filled, one for Indian Affairs and another for an independent fish buyer. Single ice houses were built at Eyapamikamau, Seeseep, and Makoop Lakes. The first and last were for an independent fish buyer and the other for Indian Affairs. Two men worked at Eyapamikamau, three at Seeseep, and at least four at Makoop Lake. This work was done in early March except at Makoop Lake where it was done a month or so later.

TABLE 55

Number of Men Employed in Cutting Ice and Construction Work,
Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Employment	M o n t h											
	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M
Cutting Ice	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10-15	-	2
Construction	-	-	-	2*	-	-	-	-	-	2-4	2	2

* No less than this number.

In addition to working at the sawmill and cutting ice, the men did construction work for the Government. The periods when work was undertaken were determined by Indian Affairs' personnel. At most times construction was only engaged in for a week or two, rarely for a whole month. The number of individuals employed varied from week to week, as well as the particular men who participated.

Manufacturing:

The Round Lake Ojibwa are in many ways quite self-sufficient in terms of those items of material culture that they employ to maintain life according to their cultural perspective and configuration. Yet, since the time of contact with Euro-Canadians, they have become much less self-sufficient, and it is doubtful that they could exist today without the material equipment supplied by the traders. The situation is further complicated by the fact that due to Government subsidy and medical care the population has increased, although statements by informants tend to contradict this, and wildlife on which the Round Lake Ojibwa depend in part has decreased, making life precarious without Euro-Canadian support. Finally, the Round Lake Ojibwa have become so indoctrinated with certain Euro-Canadian customs that they would find it almost if not impossible to revert to their former existence.

In the past most items of material culture were made by the people themselves since few trade goods were available. Over the years this has changed considerably as transportation facilities into the area have improved and stores have been established. Today less than half of the necessary items of material culture used to make a living are made by the people themselves.¹ Much of their equipment is purchased from the traders. It is difficult to get accurate data regarding the number of items manufactured during the course of any one year, but table 57 gives an estimate for 1958-1959.

The manufacture of items of material culture² is still done according to a relatively sharp division of labour (Table 58) as was formerly the case. In general, with few exceptions, men make all those items which are constructed of wood. Women make those tools of bone or wood which are employed in the processing of hides, make clothing and rabbitskin blankets and lace snowshoes.

In general, items of material culture are made whenever the need arises. An exception are those items made of hare skins which by preference are usually manufactured during early spring. Certain raw materials, on the other hand, should be collected during particular times of the year (Table 59). After they have been gathered, they can generally be stored to await fabrication for an indefinite period of time. Other raw materials can be collected at any time of the year although most commonly they are gathered just before they are to be used.

Today much less time is devoted to the making of items of material culture than in former days. A man spends one twelfth or less of his time making equipment, and the same is true of the women. Substitutes for items which in the past took many hours to make, such as birchbark canoes, rabbitskin blankets, gill

1. See Table 56 for items still manufactured.

2. It is not felt necessary in this report to give in detail the processing of items of material culture.

TABLE 56

Items Locally Manufactured and/or Obtained Through Trade,
Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959.

	Locally Manufactured	Trade Good Substitutes
Net Floats	x	x
Net Gauge & Shuttle	x	o
Gill Net	x	x
Fish Trap	o	-
Blind	x	-
Decoy	o	-
Traps	o (Deadfall)	x (Steel Traps)
Axe Handle	x	x
Beaming Pole	x	-
Birchbark Canoe Mat	o	-
Containers	o (Birchbark Skin)	x (Metal, wood etc.)
Canoe	-	-
Cradle	x	-
Drill Handle	-	x
Knife Handle	x	-
Snowshoe Needle	x	-
Canoe Paddle	x	-
Pipe	-	x
Pole on which to dehair Hide	x	-
Bone Beamer	o	-
Shovel	o	x
Sled	x	-
Snowshoes	x	-
Spits	x	-
Wooden Spoons	x	-
Toboggan	x	x
Footwear	x	x
Mittens	x	-
Blankets	o (Rabbitskin)	x
Parkas	o (Rabbitskin - moose hide)	x
Cloth Clothing	x	x
Metal Scrapers	x	-

x Manufactured or bought

o Occasionally manufactured or bought

- Neither manufactured or bought

nets, toboggans, parkas, and moccasins, can now be obtained from the stores. Rather than make their own equipment, the men are occupied in jobs such as trapping, commercial fishing and wage labour, which provide the necessary funds with which to buy these items.

TABLE 57

Estimated Number of Items Manufactured, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Net Floats	.....	50	Snowshoes	.....	15-25
Gill Nets	.....	10 †	Wooden Spoons	.....	4-5
Fish Trap	.....	1	Toboggans	.....	1 †
Deadfall	.....	10	Moccasins	.....	75-100 †
Cradles	.....	1	Mittens	.....	25-35
Canoe Paddle	.....	10	Rabbitskin Blankets	.....	2 †
Sled	.....	1 †	Rabbitskin Parkas	.....	1 †

TABLE 58

Division of Labour in the Manufacture of Items of Material Culture
According to Sex, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Item Manufactured	Male	Female
Net Float	x	-
Fish Trap	x	-
Gill Net	-	x
Blind	x	-
Decoy	x	-
Deadfall	x	-
Axe Handle	x	-
Beaming Pole	-	x
Birchbark Canoe Mat	-	x
Birchbark Box	-	x
Recanvassing Canoe	x	-
Skin Container	-	x
Cradle	x	-
Knife Handle	x	-
Snowshoe Needle	x	-
Canoe Paddle	x	-
Pole to Dehair	-	x
Bone Beamer	-	x
Shovel (Wood)	x	-
Sled	x	-
Snowshoe Frame	x	-
Snowshoe Lacing	-	x
Spits	x	x
Wooden Spoons	x	-
Toboggan	x	-
Moccasins	-	x
Mittens	-	x
Rabbit-skin Blankets	-	x
Rabbit-skin Parkas	-	x
Moosehide Parkas	-	x
Cloth Clothing	-	x
Bead Work	-	x
Metal Scrapers	x	-

x Man's or Women's Task

- Not a Man's or Woman's Work
Normally

TABLE 59

Months During which Certain Raw Materials are Collected,
Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

	<u>Months</u>												
	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	
Tamarack, Bark	x	x											x
W. Spruce, Bark	x	x											x
B. Spruce, Roots				x	x								
Bark	x	x											x
Gum												x	
Banksain Pine, Bark	x	x											
W. Birch, Bark	x	x		x	x								x

x Month in which collected

TABLE 60

Raw Materials Employed for Particular Items of Material Culture,
Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Item	Black Spruce		White Spruce		White Birch	Aspen	Fir	Willow	Moose & Caribou Hide or Bone		
Axe Handle					x						
Beaming Pole	x										
Canoe Mat					x						
Duck Blind	x										
Bark Box					x						
Ice Chisel Handle	s		s		x		s				
Skin Container											x
Cradle	x		s		x		s				
Deadfall	x				s			s			
Decoy	x				x						
Net Float	x		s								
Net Gauge					x						
Knife Handle					x						
Snowshoe Needle	s				x					x	
Canoe Paddle	s		s					s			
Pole to Dehair	x										
Beamer										x	
Wooden Shovel					x						
Net Shuttle	x										
Sled	x				x						
Slingshot								x			
Snowshoe Lacing					x					x	
Spit	x				x			x			
Spoon					x						
Toboggan					x						
Moccasins										x	
Mittens										x	
Parkas										x	x
Blankets											x
Totals	x	10	0	15	0	0	0	2	6	2	1
	s	(3)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)

x Principle raw material utilized

s Sometimes utilized

Introduction:

The distribution and consumption of goods has been alluded to in previous sections of this report. All that is necessary here is to summarize this information adding a limited amount of new data. Before this can be done, the amounts, types, and rights pertaining to property must be discussed. Distribution and consumption can then be more clearly understood. A sharp distinction exists between exchange within the community and that between members of the community and units external to it. Within the community a limited amount of exchange takes place and is in most cases a type quite distinct from exchange transactions with external units. Within the community, distribution is primarily in terms of gift exchange and flows along kinship lines. Only a limited amount of buying and selling occurs, although the practice is increasing. Exchange between members of the community and Euro-Canadian institutions are much more extensive than internal transactions, and are conducted on a money basis.

Property:

The Round Lake Ojibwa have definite ideas regarding the rights and duties pertaining to property. Property can be considered under three categories - free goods, joint ownership, and private property. Although three types of property are recognized, in some cases there is confusion in the minds of informants. This is due to the fact that certain Canadian legal norms which differ from those held by the Round Lake Ojibwa have been imposed.

The amount of property possessed by the Round Lake Ojibwa is not great. There has been a slight increase during the past fifty years as a result of trade with Euro-Canadians. Items in which there is a proprietary interest are the land and its resources, manufactured items, and goods obtained through trade.

Property rights pertaining to the land and its resources have been discussed in the section Trapping Territories p.C22 and need not be repeated here. All items of local manufacture and trade goods are primarily private property. Items such as canoe paddles, snowshoes, toboggans, moccasins, and clothing which an individual produces for his or her own use are considered personal property, to use and to dispose of as he or she sees fit. Not all items which an individual makes, can be considered his private property as other members of the family unit have rights to these goods. For example, a father is expected to make canoe paddles for his wife and children, and a woman is expected to make moccasins and mittens for her husband and her children. In these cases the goods produced are not strictly speaking the property of the maker. Rather a demand-right is imposed on the maker and, in effect, they are not his to dispose of as he sees fit. This is the case within the nuclear family, rarely any larger group. Once the transfer has been made they become the private property of the recipient. If, for example, a father makes a canoe paddle for his youthful son, the latter has full right of disposition when dealing with individuals outside the family or household.

In addition to items of native manufacture, dogs as well as equipment and food obtained from the traders are considered private property. The purchaser of equipment and food has in theory absolute ownership of these goods in contrast to country game and items he may manufacture. A rather sharp distinction exists

between the two. Goods secured or made locally are considered as contributing to the survival of the total group; trade goods are for the use of the individual and his immediate family. Although a hunter is recognized as being the owner of the moose he kills he is still expected to share the meat, not only with the members of his household but with others as well. When he buys flour he is not expected to share it with others but only with his own family.

Occasionally trade goods are considered joint property. In one case, two brothers who trapped together had pooled their traps, each occasionally buying new traps and adding to the total number. They used the traps together with no thought of which traps had been purchased by each trapper.

Cabins and commercial fish nets, like trapping territories, are today in an anomalous position. The cabins at the village are thought to be the property of the Government and informants contend that the occupants have a right of usufruct only, so long as they do not incur the displeasure of the Government. If they do, they will be dispossessed. On the other hand informants contend that, since they have made certain improvements on their homes on their own initiative, they have certain rights of private ownership. A similar situation is true of commercial gill nets. It is felt that those nets supplied by the Government and fish buyers, whether free of charge or for pay are still in part the property of the supplier. The nets can only be used to take the fish for the agent that supplied them, and not for some other fish buyer. Accordingly, every time a change is made in fish buyers there is a new demand for more nets even though each fisherman might at the time be well supplied with them. In this connection, native made gill nets are apparently never used to take fish for sale.

As mentioned previously, property exists in limited quantities. Each household possesses a certain amount of property usually of a practical nature (Table 61).

Forty-six households have cabins in the village and many of these possess a second cabin in the bush. The few individuals who do not have cabins live in their own tents. The cabins are of various sizes and states of repair.¹ The average number of traps possessed by a trapper is approximately fifty with a range of from about twenty-five to 100. About one fifth of a man's traps are number 4 size, three fifths are number 1 and 1-½ size, and the rest are intermediate. The amounts of clothing are difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy, but they are not great. Each person has at least one complete outfit, sometimes two, but rarely more. Hide parkas, rabbitskin parkas, and rabbitskin blankets are few in number. There are not more than six radios, which are primarily prestige items since there are few programs transmitted in either a Cree or Ojibwa dialect, and very few of the people understand English.

The ownership of goods only in part follows sex lines but there is a sharp distinction on the basis of age (Table 62). Although the data are limited it is suggested that formerly certain goods were owned only by men and others only by women. Government rulings on inheritance and the new attitude against the destruction of a person's belongings at his death, have made it possible for a widow to possess items belonging to her husband which would have formerly been buried with the deceased or gone to some other male.

1. See The House and its Subsidiary Structures pp. B65 for details.

Distribution of Goods and Services:

The distribution of goods and services takes place within the community, and between members of the community and Euro-Canadians. Even though possessions are limited among the Round Lake Ojibwa, a number of items are transferred between themselves. Within the community, goods listed in Table 63 are known to have been exchanged either according to informants' testimony or on the basis of direct observation.

TABLE 63

Goods Exchanged with in the Community, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

<u>Game</u>	<u>Manufactured Goods</u>	<u>Trade Goods</u>
Smoked Fish	Net Shuttles	Gun
Powdered Fish	Wooden Boxes	Powder Horn
Fresh Fish	Cradles	Radio
Moose Meat	Paddles	Clothes
Moose Hides	Snowshoes	Kerchief
Caribou Meat	Sled	Matches
Caribou Hides	Moccasins	Candles
Beaver Tails	Boot-moccasins	Raisins
Beaver Meat	Mittens	Cheese
Mink Pelts	Beaded Patches	Bread
	Beaded Bracelets	Tobacco
	Parkas	Flour
	Rabbit-skin Blankets	Tea
	Tobacco Pouches	
	Dogs	Firewood

The ways in which goods are distributed are variable, including gift, barter, buying and selling, and inheritance. Borrowing, although not a permanent transaction, is considered here. The giving of gifts is perhaps the most common way in which goods change hands, although it is suspected that the practice has decreased since former days. Where a gift is made a return is expected, but the type of return and the time when it should take place vary with the particular individuals involved. The more distant the two people are in geneological connection, space and friendship, the more immediate and concrete should be the return gift. The closer the two people are the greater is their freedom of action. In some cases no specific return gift is expected. Instead the recipient is duty bound to aid the giver whenever necessary with no thought of an equal exchange.

In one case a man and his son had freely aided a distant relative from a neighboring community by means of gifts. This man had not reciprocated at the end of a few months and the donors were highly incensed at his actions. It was a frequent topic of conversation among them, but there was nothing they could do about it. On the other hand, within the community, although a return gift is usually expected, it may in many cases be delayed for a longer period of time.

For example, a hunter who shot a moose distributed meat to at least thirty-one of the households in the village. Only in the case of a very few non-kin, remote kin, and distant neighbors was a return gift made immediately, in this case either of food or money. Close kin gave no immediate return. Men and women make things such as snowshoes and moccasins for family members but expect no direct return. Rather the recipient will at a later date perform some service for the donor. After killing a moose or caribou a man may turn the entire animal over to his father or father-in-law who then distributes the meat. The hunter expects no direct compensation.

Most if not all gifts where no immediate return is expected are made between close relatives, extending to the second ascending and descending generations and first and sometimes second collateral line. Affinals included are those one generation above and below ego, and wife's immediate siblings. It is a system based on reciprocity but over a protracted period of time.¹ The situation can be summarized as follows: Ego gives to ascending generations out of respect and a duty owed to elders; he gives within his own generation out of a feeling of equality and comradeship; and he gives to descending generations on the basis of devotion and love. This is the ideal, but it is not always attained.

Gifts are also made to non-kin with no expectation of immediate return when the recipient is in dire need of aid. In this case it is explicitly stated that the recipient at some later date will aid the donor when in need. When a moose or caribou is killed distribution to all those in the vicinity is expected regardless of genealogical connection and whether or not one feels he will get a return gift.

Barter is practiced to a very limited extent and only a few cases were recorded. One man exchanged a 30-30 rifle with another for one mink pelt and a pair of high moccasins. In another instance a widow supported herself in part by trading fish powder for flour and tea. Formerly, all transactions appear to have been made on the basis of gift rather than on any purposefully arranged exchange. With the advent of trade goods, which were considered strictly private property, the idea of barter appears to have arisen. That it is not more extensive at present is probably due to the fact that money is available in sufficient quantity to make barter unnecessary.

Buying and selling are becoming increasingly important today as a means of exchanging commodities. Almost everything seems to be capable of transfer on the basis of money and each item has its price (Table 64). Most exchanges on the basis of money are made between non-kin. Only in the case of trade goods do kin pay in money. For example, if a woman makes a beaded item for her brother, he often gives her "a little money" in order to cover the cost of the beads. In the case of the canoe listed in Table 64, one brother made the offer to another.

The amount of goods sold is quite small. Beadwork is the most frequent item. During 1958-1959 a few hundred pounds of moose and caribou meat were sold, one sled, probably not over a hundred pounds of fish, and perhaps six to ten beaded patches, a few moccasins and mittens, and at the most ten to fifteen

1. See Kin Relationships for more details, pp.310ff.

TABLE 64

Cost of Goods, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Beaded Shoulder Patches	\$	0.50 - 2.00
Embroidered Parka Collar and Cuffs		7.00 (one case)
Beaded Moccasins		2.00 - 3.50
Plain Moccasins		2.50
Beaded Mittens		2.00 - 3.00
Moose Meat .....		.25 per pound
Caribou Hides undressed.....		4.00
Fish, for dog food		1.00 for ten
Fish, for human consumption		1.00 for five
Sled		10.00 plus (one case)
Canoe, secondhand (an offer)		150.00
Firewood, cut and left in bush		6.00 a cord
Love Medicines (formerly and probably today)....		25.00 - 40.00
Trapline (an estimated value)		1,000.00

cords of wood. Probably not over \$200.00 to \$300.00 worth of goods and services were exchanged in the course of the year. In addition a number of cords of firewood were cut for the Evangelical church at four to five dollars a cord. Since the church is run by the Round Lake Ojibwa, this should be considered as a transaction taking place within the community and not between its members and Euro-Canadians.

Inheritance is of course another mode of property transference at the present time.¹ There are few definite rules as to how the property should be distributed. In general males inherit from males, and females from females. An elderly informant said a man would leave everything including his land and his home to his son. On the other hand, the widows who tend the corpse are expected to receive a share of the property. In addition, the deceased's brothers or sons get something. It appears that the son inherits it he is of age. If he is not of age, then the deceased's brothers inherit. Today, conflict has occurred due to the imposition of Canadian law in matters of inheritance. When a man dies Canadian law rules that his property passes to his widow and children whether of age or not. A case of this nature came to light near the end of fieldwork. A man was being employed along with "his" canoe and motor for which he was paid. One day the man's sister-in-law appeared and demanded payment for the same motor and canoe, claiming that they were hers. The man was annoyed by this, said they were his since they had belonged to his brother and, in addition,

1. Formerly, when a man died his possessions were placed in the grave. With the advent of trade goods the pattern began to change and today a man's possessions pass to others.

he had spent money on repairs. His sister-in-law contested this, saying the Government had informed her that they belonged to her after her husband's death. The result was that both had to be paid for the use of the same motor and canoe.

Borrowing, i.e. the temporary exchange of an item, is not infrequently practiced. As a general rule no rent is demanded when the borrowed item is for personal use. All that is expected in the case of guns, canoes, etc. is that a share of the returns resulting from their use be given the lender. In one case, a man lent his rifle to another to go moose hunting. The latter was successful and gave the lender a larger share than he did others. The same is true when all or part of trapping territory is lent. The lender expects to be aided by the borrower whenever possible, or to receive a share of big game if any is killed. It is expected, for example, that he will tend the lenders traps on those occasions when the latter is unable to do so. In one case, the only one recorded, a territory was rented for \$40.00 but the owners were never paid. They were greatly annoyed but there was nothing they could do about the matter. When discussing the problem of borrowing, one informant said that it was all right to borrow without payment as long as the borrowed item was used for one's own and one's family's personal needs. On the other hand, if a canoe is borrowed for commercial fishing, then 20% of the proceeds should be paid to the owner.

While it has not yet fully crystalized, there tends to be a distinction between a cash economy and a subsistence economy. Those items to which the Euro-Canadians attach a monetary value are generally viewed in similar fashion by the Round Lake Ojibwa. This is seen in the fact that such items as fish and moose meat, which traditionally were distributed without thought of payment, are now often sold. On the other hand, for those goods to which Euro-Canadians attach no value, the Round Lake Ojibwa still follow the pattern of gift exchange or borrowing without rent.

Besides the transfer of goods, individuals render services to others in the form of labour. Mention has been made of the hiring of individuals to cut firewood or build a sled and securing the aid of mid-wives, and of widows to tend corpses. In addition, several men act as carpenters for the community, and do odd jobs whenever called upon. They repair cabins and build tables, chairs, beds and boxes on request. They also build coffins and the fences around the graves. For this work they are generally given a little money or gifts. One of these men prepared the selvedge holes in a pair of snowshoe frames belonging to another man for \$1.00. One man tended the fish caught for sale to the fish buyers. He was paid one cent a pound for all the fish he cared for. Another service occasionally rendered is towing another's canoes with an outboard motor. For this the man is paid at least for the gas used. The services mentioned above are generally rendered by non-kin. Other and similar services are performed for kin but usually for no pay.¹

There has developed a rudimentary idea of pay for services rendered, but as yet there is no standard wage scale. Pay is generally by the job, by means

1. These services are discussed under Kin Relationships pp. B10ff.

of gifts, or for the materials used. There is little or no idea that an individual's time is worth money, except when dealing with Euro-Canadians under certain circumstances. This is clearly seen in the case of a young man who wanted to start his own store. He knew he had to make money in order to live, but he felt that to charge a profit on the goods he sold would be "stealing" from his customers. Since he produced nothing tangible he could not make money. He could not understand that the time he spent in serving the customers was worth anything. The idea of "stealing" in this manner is a common charge leveled against traders.

By far the greatest volume of exchange takes place between the members of the community of Round Lake and Euro-Canadians. Euro-Canadians buy furs, fish, a few moose hides, and un-decorated moccasins. In return, the Round Lake Ojibwa purchase food, clothing, equipment, and luxury items. All of these transactions are on the basis of money, the prices being set with no leeway for bargaining. Although this is true, payment may be deferred by means of debt. Later the debt may be paid with furs. In a sense this might be considered barter but the Round Lake Ojibwa are fully aware of the monetary values involved and do not look upon the practice as such.

About one third of all money income received by the Round Lake Ojibwa comes from furs (Fig. 20). The total income derived from trapping was between \$14,000. and \$15,000. during the season 1958-59 (Table 65).

TABLE 65

Estimated Amount of Money Received from Furs, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959

Furs	P r i c e
Mink	\$7,000.00
Beaver	4,000.00
Otter	2,000.00
Muskrat	1,000.00
Others	500.00
	\$14,500.00

Commercial fishing is the second largest source of revenue. It is difficult to obtain satisfactory figures as to the total poundage of fish sold by the Round Lake Ojibwa for which they received payment. At least 100,000 pounds of whitefish and walleye were exported and for which the fishermen were paid.¹ The prices paid for fish varied somewhat according to the season and/or the buyer. In general the price for whitefish was five or six cents a pound and between ten and twelve cents a pound for walleye. The fish sold grossed the Round Lake Ojibwa between \$7,000.00 and \$8,000.00 during the period of field-work.

Besides the sale of furs and fish, the Round Lake Ojibwa have other sour-

1. See Commercial Fishing pp.C19ff.

ces of income. The Government employs them in various ways. Cutting logs and work at the sawmill each provided approximately \$1,000.00. The job of conveying the logs to the sawmill provided about \$500.00. About \$3,000.00 was paid in wages for work on the council house, the board walk, and other minor Government enterprises. For cutting ice to be used in commercial fishing, the Government gave rations which totalled between \$500.00 and \$1,000.00. In addition to the above the Government gave aid which amounted to more than \$20,000.00 in the form of Treaty payments, old age pensions, widows' relief, family allowance and rations (Table 66).

This gives an income per capita of something over \$200.00. Although this may appear low one must remember the large amounts of food that are secured from the land at little cost in money. The same is true for firewood and housing. Although the population has been increasing during the last few years the per capita income has been increasing at an even faster rate. At the end of the 1940's the income per person was not over \$20.00 to \$25.00. By the early 1950's it rose to between \$50.00 to \$75.00

Since the saving of money is of limited extent, expenditures nearly equal income. Table 67 is based on the expenses detailed by several trustworthy informants and extrapolated to arrive at a picture for the entire community. Undoubtedly there are errors, but the figures do give an idea of the relative outlay for the different expenses encountered by the Round Lake Ojibwa (Fig. 21).

TABLE 66

Income of the Round Lake Ojibwa, * 1958-1959

Source of Income	Amount of Income
Furs	\$15,000.00
Fish	8,000.00
Construction	3,000.00
Cutting Logs	1,000.00
Sawmill	1,000.00
Cutting Ice	750.00
Hauling Logs	500.00
Family Allowance	9,000.00
Old Age Pensions	5,000.00
Widows' Relief	2,500.00
Rations	2,500.00
Treaty Payments	1,000.00
HBC Salary and Payments	3,000.00
Miscellaneous Income	2,500.00
TOTAL	\$54,750.00

* This does not include those men temporarily working outside.

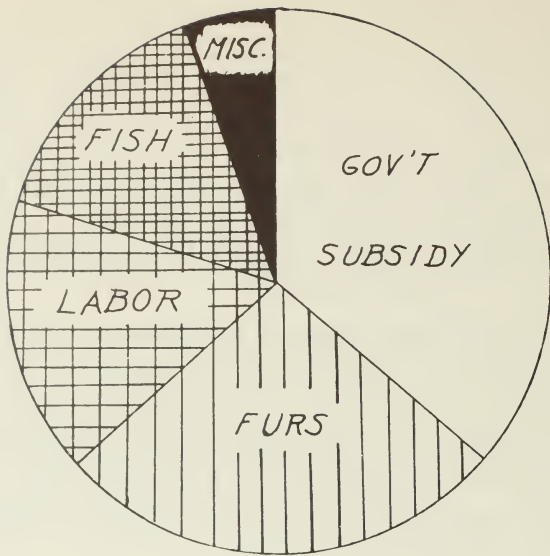


FIG 20 - PERCENTAGES OF ESTIMATED INCOME FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, ROUND LAKE OJIBWA 1958-1959

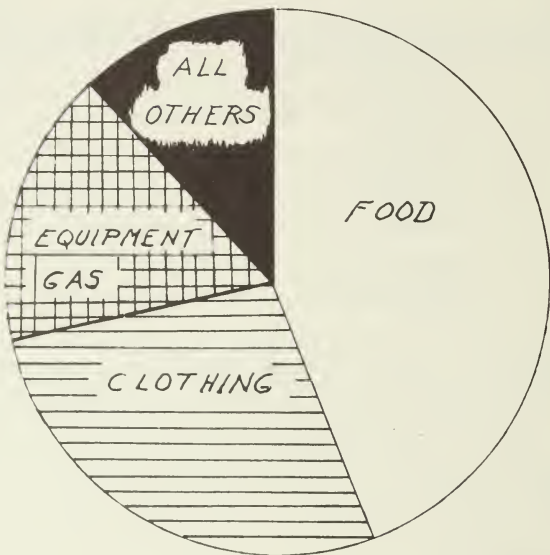


FIG 21 - PERCENTAGES OF ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES FOR VARIOUS GOODS, ROUND LAKE OJIBWA, 1958-1959

TABLE 67

Expenditures of the Round Lake Ojibwa, * 1958-1959

Items	C o s t s
Food	\$24,000.00
Clothing	15,000.00
Gas, oil, kerosene	5,000.00
Equipment	4,000.00
Plane Transport	2,000.00
Tobacco	1,000.00
Hunting Licenses	250.00
Miscellaneous	3,500.00
TOTAL	\$54,750.00

* This does not take into account expenses incurred by those individuals temporarily absent from the community.

Units of Consumption:

There are several units involved in the consumption of goods. One is the community, another the household, and finally the trapping partnership might be construed as such. The community as a unit of consumption only comes into operation at feasts, which are infrequent. When feasts do occur various members of the community contribute food which is distributed to everyone present.

The most important unit of consumption is the household. It is primarily within the household that food is consumed, raw materials fabricated into goods, and items of equipment and clothing utilized.¹ The household is under the general direction and counsel of the senior male member² who supervises the way in which goods are consumed. His leadership is recognized implicitly rather than by any explicit formulation. Each member of the household must be cared for to the best of the ability of the unit, and this is a valued norm. No actual cases were recorded in which trouble had occurred in this connection. Accordingly, there is no information, nor could any be elicited, as to how the improper allocation of goods might be dealt with. In the case of orphans, supernatural sanctions are thought to operate. An orphan who is mistreated immediately acquires the religious power of his deceased father and is thereby able to bring harm to those who mistreated him.

From the foregoing discussion of production, distribution and consumption, it can be seen that the household is a basic unit within the Round Lake community. At the same time, it is far from being economically self-sufficient. Although there is a certain amount of exchange of goods and services between

1. It must be remembered that the household is at the same time the major unit of production and distribution. The household is a fundamental unit in the life of the Round Lake Ojibwa.
2. See The Household for detailed description pp.B66ff.

households, the vast bulk is between the households and units external to the community. Today, these exchange transactions with institutions in Canadian society are vital. The Round Lake Ojibwa are dependent on the Euro-Canadians, and without this linkage their very existence would be threatened.

The dependence of the Round Lake Ojibwa on the Euro-Canadians varies according to the type of goods required. The household approaches self-sufficiency in terms of food, and could be wholly self-sufficient if it chose. On the other hand, the household is almost solely dependent on other units for clothing and equipment (Table 68). As can be seen, the production of goods (furs and fish) for sale is of extreme importance in the economic life of the household. This in turn has brought about a number of fundamental changes within the social structure during the past fifty years. No longer does a society, in the strict meaning of the word, exist. With the disappearance of a self-sufficient society, the nuclear family has emerged as the most important single unit.

TABLE 68

Locus of Production for the Household, Round Lake Ojibwa, 1958-1959*

Goods Produced	Within the Household	By other Households	External to the Household Within Canadian Society
Food	65%	5%	30%
Clothing	5%	5%	90%
Equipment	10%	2%	88%

* The percentages given here are estimates based on a limited amount of numerical data and direct observation. They represent a relative situation rather than an absolute one.

PART IV

RELIGION

Introduction:

The present day religious beliefs and rituals of the Round Lake Ojibwa are in some ways difficult to describe. Several factors are responsible for this situation. First, their religion consists of two parts - the aboriginal, and that derived from Christian missionaries. Their religious convictions, beliefs, attitudes and rituals are based upon both Christian teachings and non-Christian religious ideas. The old and the new have been modified and interwoven to form, in part, an amalgam. For example, certain mythological characters have been equated with those in the Bible - wi'sahke'ca'hk is Noah and cahka'-pe'šš is Jonah. At the same time, there tends to be a split or compartmentalization of the two systems. Christianity, as understood by the Round Lake Ojibwa, is concerned primarily with a person's soul and life after death, while the aboriginal concepts deal with interpersonal relations and the behavior of individuals while here on earth. There is another split between the two religious systems. Objective ritual is primarily Christian while the beliefs and attitudes are predominantly native. Secondly, there is a differential acceptance of Christianity on the part of individuals. Some individuals adhere more closely to Christian dogma than others. Because of this differential acceptance, opinions from any two informants tend to vary, and no consistent pattern of beliefs and actions emerges. Informants speak with much greater clarity and insight about aboriginal religious concepts than they do about Christianity. Basically, Christianity is confusing to them. One informant clearly pointed out this when he said that he could not understand how it was that a "white man" could start a new Christian sect whenever he felt like it. The multiplicity of Christian teachings they have heard of, or been confronted with, baffles them.

In the following, an attempt is made to describe the religious beliefs and rituals of the Round Lake Ojibwa as a consistent whole, an amalgam of the old and the new. No attempt is made to separate Christianity from their native religion. At many points the two merge or are interlocked. Ill luck, for example, may be explained as due to witchcraft, or to God who has withheld His favor. An accident may be attributed to the shamanistic activities of members of another community because of resentment against native preachers from Weagamow Lake who have tried to convert them to Christianity. In such a situation the Round Lake Ojibwa attempt to defend themselves from this "evil" by means of Christian power which they feel they possess.

An attempt is also made to indicate where religion enters into the social organization and economic life of the Round Lake Ojibwa. Their social organization and economic system cannot be fully understood without an appreciation of their religious beliefs and attitudes. It might be better to say that in the case of religion, it has influences on the social organization, which in turn influences the economic organization. Of prime importance in this respect is witchcraft. Fear of witchcraft leads on occasion to strained if not hostile interpersonal relations inhibiting group co-operation and interaction outside the effective range of kinship. In turn, as can be seen this affects the economic organization.

Objective rituals are restricted to those performed by the Christian churches. The beliefs and attitudes, on the other hand, which form the core of the religion of the Round Lake Ojibwa are basically native. The concept of "power", both aboriginal (manito'hke) and Christian, is fundamental to the religion of these people. The means of acquiring power, manipulating power, and the results of using power are not only an aspect of the religion, but also enter vitally into interpersonal relations and the interpretation of diseases and accidents. Interpersonal hostility and feuding are conducted in terms of religious "power", and most sicknesses, accidents, and deaths are considered the result of the "evil" use of power. In this connection means of "knowing" about the employment of power by others is important, and omens of many kinds are employed.

Although the above might be considered basic to the religious system, there are other concepts which must be considered. Certain taboos must be observed, or supernatural punishment will result. Certain acts, such as the killing of game, must be atoned, and means of propitiation are conducted. Furthermore, there is one's soul, which must be cared for, and its life after death. Finally, there are spirits which roam the land and must be avoided if one is to evade disaster.

Religious Power:

Religious "power" is a quality existing within individuals in varying amounts, derived either from native spirits or the Christian church, and employed for good or bad. Power derived from the native spirits is referred to as manito'hke ("to have the ability to perform magical or spiritual acts" or "to have the knowledge to perform magical or spiritual acts"). It is a power which allows a person to manipulate the supernatural to his own advantage and, at the same time, it guides his actions. At times manito'hke is equated with the work of the Devil. One informant said that the worship of the golden calf as described in the Bible was manito'hke. The act was the same as the employment of images (masinihcikan) with which to kill an enemy. Christian power, on the other hand, is devoted to good and is greater than manito'hke. Although informants sometimes explain the situation in this way, it does not mean that a given individual is either a Christian (ote'yamiha), or one committed solely to the old beliefs (ote'yamiha'hkaso'sk). Informants state that they are a little of both, and one man summed up the situation by saying he considered himself half ote'yamiha and half ote'yamiha'hkaso'sk. He said he must have some manito'hke since he heard voices talking to him, while he walked through the bush alone and because he received dreams. And this was a man who was considered by the missionaries to be one of their best converts. Although informants sometimes equate manito'hke with "evil" power it appears to be only as a concession to Christian teachings. Those men who feel that they may possess some manito'hke certainly do not feel that they have "evil" power nor do they employ it for "evil."

Power resides in the individual. It allows him to foretell future events, if he or his family is threatened with harm, and to tell what an individual is think-

ing, what he is going to do, what "power" he possesses to ward off evil, protect the members of his family, and to control the actions of others. Power, whether manito'hke or Christian, exists in differing amounts. Each person has power but some individuals have much more than others. The individual himself, in most cases, determines how much power he has, since he is free to accept or reject offers of power from the supernatural. This applies both to Christian power and to manito'hke. With time, an individual's power is said to become dissipated. Young men, it is thought, have the greatest amount. It is of interest in this connection that the native preachers who are considered to have the most Christian power are young men. By the age of forty or fifty, individuals begin to lose their power. One shaman in the village who was in his late sixties was reported to have said he was losing his power.¹

Christian power and manito'hke are conferred on an individual by supernatural means, in the former through the aid of kana'ci'yahca'hk (the Holy Ghost) and in the latter through maciyahca'hk ("evil spirit"). Both forms of power serve the Round Lake Ojibwa in his everyday life. Christian power and manito'hke protect the individual but the latter can also be employed for evil ends. It is claimed that some men do this, but informants were careful to point out that no one in the community of Round Lake ever employed power for evil. Rather, it was claimed that only members of other communities practiced in this manner. Nevertheless, the Round Lake Ojibwa are well versed in the means whereby manito'hke can be acquired, and how it can be used to harm others. Furthermore, they do occasionally employ others for this purpose and quite likely practice it themselves.

Men more often than women are said to have power, both Christian and manito'hke. It is to be doubted that there is a man in the village who does not consider that he possesses manito'hke in some degree, but it is something that the individual himself will rarely admit to possessing. One informant, contended most emphatically that they were all ote'yamiha and no longer practice manito'hke. Other informants however were not of this opinion. They surmised for various reasons that so and so had manito'hke. Did not his father have manito'hke? Therefore he must have it. Or, does not this man get mad easily and isn't he very strong? Therefore he must possess manito'hke. Or, this man travels a good deal in the bush alone, which is strange. Therefore perhaps he possesses manito'hke. Some informants are quite frank and state that perhaps they do indeed possess manito'hke. Others are sure they could have this

1. Further information is needed on this point. The idea that power is lost with increasing age conflicts with the idea that the older males were leaders in former days because of their religious power. It also conflicts in part with the idea that one could continuously seek power. This ability was inhibited after a man began to have sexual relations. The fact that men who employed their power against others more powerful than themselves might lose their power to their adversary may be involved here. The idea seems to be that by using power against others, with time a man is quite likely to lose some to others. A further complication is, of course, due to the fact that the religious system is undergoing violent change.

power if they so desired. On the other hand, they all believe themselves to be Christians and to possess Christian power in some degree.

Christian power can be derived from any church. Individuals feel free to join either the Evangelical or Anglican church and then as easily change their allegiance. In a number of cases they follow both churches, attending the services of both. This makes no difference to the Christian power that they possess. Church affiliation among the Round Lake Ojibwa, as among Euro-Canadians, is in the last analysis based on social factors rather than purely religious ones.

No information was received which might indicate that women possess manito'hke, but it is entirely possible that a few women have this power. On the other hand, women do possess Christian power and they are faithful churchgoers but, as one informant said, they easily change church affiliations. This was probably no more than another expression of the lower position women hold in the eyes of the men. Although women are active in church affairs none have become native preachers and none have therefore been imbued with a maximum of Christian power. This is still the prerogative of males.

Acquiring Religious Power:

Formerly, power was acquired by both men and women by means of a vision quest (antapawa'mo). Informants state most emphatically that this is no longer practiced and they themselves have never been on an antapawa'mo. Today, informants contend, manito'hke is conferred on an individual by means of dreams (pawa'mowin), by inheritance through the male line, and through instruction.¹ manito'hke received by means of pawa'mowin is said not to be as powerful as that obtained through the antapawa'mo. Church power is acquired by joining a church, studying the Bible, and especially by baptism in the Evangelical church which closely parallels the antapawa'mo in some respects.

Dreams (pawa'mowin) play an important part in the lives of the Round Lake Ojibwa. Not only are dreams a source of power, but dreams notify an individual of impending events such as the coming of "evil" directed against himself or a member of his family or a friend, advise him of hunting and trapping luck, and tell him of actions that must be taken to prevent the occurrence of certain events. In many ways, stylized dreams often dictate the behavior of a person and accordingly certain actions can only be understood in terms of the dreams the individual has recently received. The present discussion is limited to dreams as a means of acquiring power.

Boys at a young age begin to receive dreams in which they are offered power. These continue until the boy is in his teens. It is stated that formerly after a man had had sexual relations with a woman he could no longer secure power by means of dreams, and one informant stated that only young men received dreams offering them power. Older men had dreams but they obtained no more power from them. Nevertheless, fragmentary information suggests that even after this age males may continue to receive dreams offering them power.

1. This latter is questionable. One informant said it could be acquired this way but the information is suspect

When a boy receives a dream he must tell no one about it or he will lose the power conferred on him. Informants contend that they always told their dreams so that they would not obtain any power in this manner. They could not say otherwise without admitting that they definitely possessed manito'hke. Dreams offer a boy "evil" power and therefore they should not be accepted. If they are accepted, the person becomes an evil influence in the community. Instead a person should seek Christian power, which is superior. This indicates in part the reticence of informants to talk freely, and the confusion in their minds regarding the present day religious system.¹ If a boy receives a dream and tells no one, he will obtain power and in time more dreams will come to him increasing his power. An individual who gains many spirit helpers can combine these into one, called missa'pe ("great man").² Only very powerful individuals are capable of doing this, and today perhaps no one in the community of Round Lake has sufficient power. This combination to form missa'pe was rarely brought into being and only in times of great need. It is said that if anything happened to one's missa'pe the person would die.

Dreams are of several types. In one, a person representing an animal comes to the individual. If the dreamer can distinguish what animal it is, he can have the power offered. In a second type of dream, an animal or fish presents itself and gives knowledge and power to the dreamer. A female animal may represent pikwatihkwe ("bush woman"). In a third, a natural feature is seen, e.g. a rapid indicates miššipišiw. In these dreams the object seen, whether an animal, a person, or a natural feature, represents or is a "spirit being." There are a number of different "spirit beings" who are sent by maciyahca'hk ("evil spirit"): maciyahca'hk is a distant spirit being and has been observed by at least one individual, a native preacher. Some informants place all the indigenous spirits under the domination of maciyahca'hk and equate him with the Christian Devil. Of the other spirit beings, the most powerful is miššipišiw ("great lynx"). Two almost equally powerful spirits are mahi'nkan ("wolf") and wapahkwa ("white bear"). Other spirits which may appear in dreams are the following - išikaniyaniššinini ("half-man"), iškote-mamito'hka'n ("fire-god-like"), ki'we'tinišši ("northwest wind spirit"), wa'panišši ("east wind spirit"), ša'wanišši ("south wind spirit"), ne'nka'pihan ("west wind spirit"), pikhwatina'winini ("mountain people"), ana'mahka'miko'winini ("underground people"), and pine'ssi ("thunder").

The spirits who present themselves in dreams, and in the case of animal spirits they usually constitute the larger species of mammals, usually transport the individual to some distant land and here talk and give him instructions. The instructions are of various kinds, although fewer in number today than in

1. This is not a matter of conflicting statements from different informants. Rather the same informant time and again gave conflicting answers. And these informants were highly trusted men who on all other topics gave consistent, accurate, and detailed information over a period of a year.
2. By some this entity has been equated with Goliath of the Bible and represents "evil power."

the past. It is said that today a man accepts power so that he may be forewarned of dangers approaching, to secure better hunting and trapping luck, and to discover certain forms of behavior which will aid him in later life. Formerly,¹ the spirits conferred on an individual the power to kill others, to cause sickness and accidents, to frighten, to heal, and to divine in various ways. Informants contend that at Weagamow Lake no man receives this type of power any more. They state, that members of neighboring communities, especially to the west and south, do have this power, and that individuals farther away, in such places as Dryden and Kenora, Ontario, have the greatest amount of this type of power. Although members of neighboring communities are feared to a certain extent, those at greater distances are most feared. An informant recounted the following experience he had in a neighboring community. Once he was taken to the Sandy Lake community to act as interpreter in a dispute between trappers from Sandy Lake and Bearskin. After the job was finished, there was some discussion among the Euro-Canadians who had taken him to Sandy Lake indicating that they might remain there overnight. The informant said he was most relieved when they decided to take him back to Weagamow Lake that same day. He was afraid of what the Sandy Lake men might do to him and several had approached him in such a manner that he thought they were planning to cause him harm for his part in the negotiations between the trappers.

One informant recounted several dreams a relative of his had received as a boy.² Once this boy dreamed that he was standing close to the shore of a lake when a very large burbot swam up to him. The burbot asked the boy what he wanted to do and added that he could take him into deep water. The boy said that he could not go because he was unable to swim under water. The burbot assured him he could take him under water and that there would be no harm. The burbot then told the boy to sit on his neck if he wanted to take the trip, and the boy did as he was instructed. When they reached deep water after a long trip, the boy was able to see a great distance and the burbot showed him all the different animals. After a long time they came back. The same boy had a second dream. This particular type of dream does not often occur but when it does the dreamer receives a great deal of power. The boy dreamed he was far

1. "Formerly" is perhaps not the right word to use here. It is employed, however, since the Round Lake Ojibwa deny that these practices exist today in their community although they admit that formerly they occurred. It is conceivable that they still do occur and it must be remembered that they are said to and probably do still take place in surrounding communities. Accordingly they are described because of their continuing importance in the lives of the Round Lake Ojibwa. They are a vital force in their lives, not simply a memory of former days.
2. The relative was from the community of Bearskin. Although there are certain differences between the communities of Bearskin and Round Lake, on the basis of present information the types of dreams received are similar in the two areas. Further investigation might reveal certain differences in dream patterns but this would probably not effect the general picture as presented here.

away, traveling through the mite' country. As evening approached he stopped, and saw many different kinds of people going to one particular place. The boy knew who these people were. Finally, the last one arrived. It was i'šikaniyan-iššini ("half-man"). He talked to the boy and the boy understood every word, but later did not remember what he had said. After this experience the boy left mite' country and went to another country. Here there was one big house. The boy went inside and found ko'ko'hkoho' (in this case probably the great horned owl), but he remained only a few minutes. During this time ko'ko'hkoho' told the boy many things. ko'ko'hkoho' said that he had a big family and that he traveled in the daytime and returned before dark. Very soon the boy left, before owl's family came home.

If these dreams are told to no one and the individual receiving them can correctly identify the spirits seen and accepts the instructions¹, he will have manito'hke'. The man who had received these dreams had immediately afterwards recounted them so that he would not gain the power they offered.

Another informant spoke of a dream he had had as a boy in which he was offered power. A person came; the informant recognized this person and the type of power he was offering. It was the power which allows a person by listening in a bottle to hear what others far away are saying and thinking about him, and to tell if they are angry or telling lies. After receiving the dream, the informant went into the bush and listened to a bottle. He heard the voices. Later he told of his dream and, from then on, was no longer able to hear the voices in the bottle.

There are means other than dreams of receiving power. One informant stated that power descends in the male line. He said that since his grandfather had great power and because his father had power, he himself had some power, or was capable of easily acquiring power. This concept¹ of the inheritance of power could not be satisfactorily explained by the informant. What he apparently meant was that if one's paternal ancestors had had power, then one acquired power more easily by means of dreams. On the other hand, the actual inheritance of power may be thought to exist. It is said for instance that a boy who has no father and mother and is neglected and ill-treated by his guardians, is given his father's power.

Finally, power is said to be capable of transmission to another individual by means of instruction. No actual cases of this were recorded, and since this idea was expressed by only one informant and without further detail, it remains suspect. Undoubtedly the concepts surrounding the idea of power were learned through informal discussion and perhaps at times formal training, but the actual acquisition of power appears to be the result of dreams the individual receives and perhaps by means of inheritance.

1. Unfortunately little information was secured as to the way in which dreams are interpreted. It can be said, however, that the dreams are not strictly speaking aboriginal in content or theme but reflect the changing conditions under which the Round Lake Ojibwa live and are apparently interpreted accordingly.

Although individuals may receive manito'hke', they can also receive Christian power. Informants generally (there were exceptions) discuss manito'hke' and Christian power as though they could not exist in a single person. When discussing Christian power informants state that manito'hke' is the work of the Devil yet frequently they express the opinion that particular people have this power. At the same time they do not question that the same individuals are Christians. Such conflicts between the old and new religious systems have not been resolved.

One source of confusion in the attempt to reconcile aboriginal and Christian beliefs is in the conflicting conceptualization of "power." Christian power represents the essence of good in the Euro-Canadian world view where there is a tendency to see almost everything in terms of value-charged opposites: good versus evil, black versus white, and so on. The aboriginal power, manito'hke', was not coloured by considerations of intrinsic worth. It was simply power, and as such could be used for good or evil. In the absence of missionary influence, a Round Lake Ojibwa could easily accept manito'hke' as potentially good and bad at the same time, and would not deny himself the chance to use it for good simply because it could also be used for evil. This attitude does to some extent characterize some individuals, and it can be seen that there is no necessary conflict with basic Christian teaching here. Orthodox missionaries have introduced conflict by conceptually placing Christianity, the Good, in opposition to everything else, which is "obviously" Evil.

Christian power is acquired by means of baptism, through dreams, and by the full acceptance of the teachings found in the Bible. By these means an individual receives kana'ci'yahca'k ("Holy Ghost"). It enters him and he gains power from it, power that is greater than that given by maciyahca'hk.¹ One man who was baptised gave the following version of his gaining of power. As he emerged (from total immersion in the lake) he saw a great flash of light and the Holy Ghost entered him. He said nothing about his experience for over a year since he was not sure that it was true. At the end of this time he was convinced of its validity, and then gave talks telling others of his experience. He said that this was what the true Christian should experience.

Baptism is one source of Christian power. In addition an individual may receive a dream in which the Holy Spirit comes to him in the form of a "white light" and the "darkness" goes away. Finally, power can also be acquired by believing in the Bible and leading a "Christian life." Although informants state that one must lead a "Christian life" they find it difficult if not impossible to state what they mean by this phrase. An individual is a "true Christian" because he "knows", and believes it in his heart. If he "sins" his heart burns and he is sad. He knows he has done wrong, and tries to mend his ways. A person who is not a "true Christian" does not mind "sinning", and only

1. This is true only so long as the individual believes that it is so. Information, although fragmentary, suggests that not all Round Lake Ojibwa are of this opinion. Some probably believe in the greater efficacy of power derived from maciyahca'hk.

pays lip service to Christianity.

Employment of Religious Power:

As noted, both manito'hke' and Christian power can be employed for a number of purposes. manito'hke' can be used to cause illness, accidents, and even death, to cure, to increase one's hunting luck, to predict the future and warn of harm. Both types of power can protect the individual. Although informants claim that no one in the community of Round Lake can employ manito'hke' to cause harm or death, it still can be used for other tasks, but in a more limited sense than formerly. On the basis of how power is employed, five types of shamans are recognized. Today only one type is said to exist among the Round Lake Ojibwa. One man is said to be a mite'wimaškihki'winini or herbal specialist. The other types of shamans, found in the neighbouring communities, are the mite'na'pe' ("spirit man"), košša'pantamo'winini ("shaking tent man"), matwe'hike'winini ("drum man"), and nikamo'winini ("singing man"). They play a part in the lives of the Round Lake Ojibwa through being sought by some for their powers, or feared because of the harm they send to the community of Round Lake. Informants stressed the fact that persons possessing manito'hke' easily become mad. They were always looking for trouble, and the only way to prevent this was to give them gifts of tobacco so that they would not get mad at you.

Illnesses, accidents and deaths are frequently attributed to manito'hke'. Since all informants disclaimed ever employing manito'hke' to cause harm, details had to be derived from stories relating to the actions of other individuals and frequently those living in other communities. A number of cases have occurred in the past few years in which members of the Round Lake Community have been involved and have been harmed or killed by individuals living elsewhere.

Descriptions of the methods by which an individual can harm another are not complete. In descriptions of cases of illness or death at Weagamow Lake, there are no statements as to the methods assumed to have been employed, and there is no evidence that rites were actually performed by members of other communities to effect the results attributed to them by Round Lake Ojibwa. Accordingly, as far as the information goes, witchcraft rather than sorcery is involved.¹

The actual means by which an individual is assumed to be able to harm another vary, and depend on the type of power received by the operator. The

1. The performance of magical rites with the intention of harming others is known and often referred to as sorcery, in distinction to witchcraft, where groundless accusations of sorcery are made. Where witchcraft prevails an individual often suffers terrible anxiety and is denied the possible psychological satisfaction of contemplating or actually engaging in sorcery himself. This appears to be the situation in the community of Round Lake today, in contrast to former times when sorcery was practiced as it still is in surrounding communities.

techniques by which harmful influences are sent against a victim are also varied. Informants claim that harm can be inflicted on others by dreaming, by holding a "dog feast", by holding a manito'ki'wak ceremony, by performing the kossa'pancikan rite ("shaking tent rite"), by destroying an effigy (masinihcikan or masinini'hka'n) of your enemy, by the actual or supernatural use of medicines placed where those whom you wish to harm will come in contact with them, and by sending foreign objects referred to as pimota'hkwa'n¹ at your enemy. These means are effective only if the operator has more and different power than his enemy. If the enemy has greater power he may retain the power sent against him and thereby weaken his opponent. At the same time he will increase his own power. In some cases he may send the power back to its owner, thereby causing the latter's death. Certainly some, if not all, of these performances are practiced in neighbouring communities at the present time, as they were not too many years ago at Weagamow Lake. It is difficult to believe that none of these means of harming an enemy are any longer practiced by the Round Lake Ojibwa. It is perhaps safe to say that the "dog feast", manito'ki'wak ceremony, and kossa'pancikan rite are no longer held.

If a man becomes angry with another, he may dream of a means whereby he can destroy his opponent. If a man dreams of clouds, a wind will rise when his victim goes out in a canoe, causing the canoe to capsize and the man to drown. A man may dream of tobacco: his victim will then become sleepy and die when he smokes. If a man dreams about a gun, his enemy will have a fatal hunting accident. After having the dream, the man smokes to aid the fulfillment of his dream.

Information about the manito'ki'wak ceremony is far from complete, and in some cases accounts are confused. The ceremony is today practiced by the Sandy Lake community, located to the west of Weagamow Lake, and apparently at other communities in Western Ontario. One trusted informant stated that the manito'ki'wak ceremony was never practiced at Weagamow Lake, or, if it had been, it was a very long time ago. The oldest informants questioned never gave a clear description of it, and what they generally described was the kossa'pancikan rite, sometimes interspersed with odd bits of data which might suggest the manito'ki'wak ceremony. It is suspected that they were referring to feasts held in a ša'pontawa'n not in a wa'kinokan as is the case when the manito'ki'wak ceremony is held. It appears probable that the manito'ki'wak ceremony never entered the area of Weagamow Lake. The people of this area had been converted to the outward rituals of Christianity by the time the ceremony reached Sandy Lake.

The manito'ki'wak ceremony is said to have entered the Sandy Lake area perhaps thirty to forty years ago when the Hudson's Bay Company was freight-ing supplies in by summer brigades from Lake Winnipeg. Sandy Lake men became familiar with the ceremony in the Lake Winnipeg area and introduced it to their own community. This information acquired at Sandy Lake sounds entirely

1. pimota'hkwa'n refers also to a dart which in the past may have been used in hunting, or in a game.

plausible and in general confirms information derived from Weagamow Lake. A Weagamow Lake informant, who had as a young man worked on the brigades about thirty years ago, told of witnessing the ceremony. He said he did not like the ceremony and when asked to join he refused. He told them that the people at Weagamow Lake did not do this, but went to church instead. The Sandy Lake people there were "mad at him" for this.

The Round Lake Ojibwa fear the manito'ki'wak ceremony and believe that by means of it residents in other communities can cause them harm. The following information regarding the actual manito'ki'wak ceremony is based on the testimony of informants who have been present when the ceremony was performed in other communities, and also on direct observation.¹ The ceremony is held in a long and narrow barrel-vaulted lodge (wa'kinokan). The frame of the lodge is made of poles bent in an arch and set parallel to one another. A few poles are secured horizontally along the sides and at right angles to the arched poles in order to hold them firmly in place. The ends of the lodge are vertical.

Only one lodge was seen closely. Its length was between forty and fifty feet and its width from ten to twelve feet. There was a doorway at one end. The frame was covered with canvas. Near the centre of the lodge were two tables under one of which a drum (matwe'hikan) and pipe (assini'yohpwa'kan, "stone pipe") had been hidden. The pipe was displayed for a few moments. It was observed to have a finely carved bowl of soapstone, a stem (okica'htik) of wood, and a mouthpiece of soapstone. The drum and beater were not seen. According to Weagamow Lake informants, the drum² consists of a large metal pail with several inches of water in the bottom. Crumbled charcoal (akasis) is added to the water as "medicine." The top of the pail is covered with moose hide, unsmoked, and held in place with string tied about the outside of the pail just below the rim. Below the string, the hide is cut forming a fringe. The drum is beaten with a piece of wood, black spruce or white birch. The beater, which may be a foot or more long, is bent at the distal end. The proximal end is wrapped with a string.

1. I was fortunate to have had the opportunity of observing a small part of the ceremony at Sandy Lake in 1958.
2. The description of the drum and beater was given by Round Lake Ojibwa and said to be the type used in the area. It is a drum characteristically found widely distributed in the Great Lakes-Northern Ontario area. In the southern part of the area it is associated with the mite'win ceremony. A Euro-Canadian at Sandy Lake said the drum used there in the manito'ki'wak ceremony was a barrel with both ends removed and covered with moose hide. This also is a type of drum widely distributed but associated with ceremonies other than the mite'win. If this information is correct then the manito'ki'wak ceremony may not represent a northern version of the mite'win. This idea is further strengthened by the fact that the manito'ki'wak ceremony is said to be conducted for the purpose of harming others rather than being primarily devoted to curing as is the mite'win ceremony.

At the start of the feast, according to informants, the pipe is lit and a man carries it about allowing each person present a puff. After the pipe has been taken around two men, one carrying meat cut in small pieces and the other broth, pass among the people. One informant said that a piece of meat is impaled on a stick and thrust into a person's mouth by the attendant. No one is allowed to touch the meat with his hands or to feed himself. The same was true in the distribution of the broth. The attendant had a cup which he held to each person's mouth.¹ After the feast the drumming starts.

No more information could be elicited regarding the manito'ki'wak ceremony. Informants contend that when the Sandy Lake people or others become "mad at someone" they perform the ceremony and by so doing harm their enemy. No one knew or would say exactly how the results were thought to be obtained.

The "dog feast" with the intention of harming others appears to have been rarely held. It is known and remembered by the Round Lake Ojibwa, who are quite reticent about discussing it. One gets the feeling that they view it with some horror and disgust. Informants are convinced that those who practice this rite can harm them. Two short accounts of "dog feasts" were recorded, one of which occurred at Weagamow Lake not many years ago. At that time a man from Cat Lake was trapping temporarily with a Windigo Lake man. One day the Cat Lake man killed his dog and cooked it. After it was cooked the Cat Lake man told his partner to eat some, but the Windigo Lake man was afraid. It was not stated whether the Windigo Lake man finally ate any, but the Cat Lake man did eat some of the meat. Afterwards, the Cat Lake man told his partner why he had done this. People, he had heard, were saying that he was chasing a Windigo Lake girl. He was mad at this girl because of the gossip and it is suspected he felt the girl herself was spreading the story. At any rate he wished to kill her. Shortly thereafter the girl died.

In addition to the manito'ki'wak ceremony and "dog feast", people can be harmed or killed by means of the kossa'pamcikan rite. The rite is still performed in surrounding communities and, until very recently, at Weagamow Lake. It is possible, although not probable, that it is still occasionally practiced by the Round Lake Ojibwa. Only men with the appropriate power can perform it. A man at Sandy Lake is a noted performer and Round Lake people have observed and employed him, and apparently others, on frequent occasions.

The kossa'pamcikan ("shaking tent") is a cylindrical structure made of poles and covered with bark or hide. The base of the structure is about four feet in diameter and the opening at the top is about two feet in diameter. The entire height of the kossa'pamcikan is about twelve feet. To construct the shaking tent from four to eight black spruce poles are first obtained. The greater the

1. At the ceremony witnessed bannock, cut in small pieces, was carried around on a large plate by several attendants (men) and those present each took a piece. Slips of paper bearing Cree syllabic writing were on each plate. At the same time, several men were cutting pieces of roasted moose meat from a rear quarter and eating it. As the feast was nearing the end, this may not be a true picture of proceedings.

number of poles used, the greater the power of the operator (kossa'pantamo'-winini). After the poles are secured the bark is removed from one side of each pole. The poles are then erected vertically in a circle, the butts being thrust two feet into the ground. Two hoops are placed horizontally inside the cylinder of poles. One hoop is placed at the top and the other about half way down the structure. They are tied to the vertical poles with wi'kop. The hoops are made of willow or black spruce. The structure is covered with rolls of birch bark (Weagamow Lake informant) or caribou hide (Bearskin informant). A small opening is left on one side for a doorway to admit the performer. This is the type employed by the Round Lake Ojibwa.¹ The kossa'pancikan is erected by men under the direction of the performer. Instructions as to how the kossa'-pancikan is to be erected and what materials are to be used come to the performer in dreams received when on the antapawa'mo.

The rite is performed only at night. When the time arrives the performer is called. On his arrival he walks twice about the kossa'pancikan which shakes violently. He then crawls inside and the performance starts. The only distinguishing item of dress that the performer wears is a white cloth tied firmly about his forehead.

Informants did not know exactly what took place when the rite was performed to kill someone. One informant recounted the following story of how two men from Cat Lake were harmed by a performer from Sandy Lake. This took place a good many years ago. When the performance was held, the kossa'-pantamo'winini called the "spirits" of the two Cat Lake men into the kossa'-pancikan. The people witnessing the performance heard these men talking and crying. The performer told them that he was taking away their "power" and that they would not now have long to live. He told one man he would die of ki'wa'skwe', and soon thereafter this man did die of ki'wa'skwe'.

Informants state that the usual form of illness caused by the kossa'-pantamo'winini is pi'ntikaha'kamiwi ("take inside" or "entombed"). During the performance of the rite the victim, even though he is far away, is struck by the performer's power and falls down unconscious. The victim, as he "sleeps", gets a dream. He feels that he is traveling very fast on top of the water. Soon he sees a large cloud. When he hits the cloud he discovers that it is rock. The victim passes into the rock and there is entombed. When he is inside the rock he believes someone is giving him food and drink. In actual fact he is scratching up sand and moss at home, and trying to eat them. If the victim has no power to protect himself, or if there is no one around to help him he becomes permanently crazy, and soon after dies.

Another means by which harm can be sent against another is through the use of a masinini'hka'n ("image"). An image is constructed of wood or birch bark and given the name of the intended victim. A "grave" is dug in the sand and the image stood at one end. The image is then shot, causing it to fall back into the "grave". The "grave" is immediately filled in with sand. When this

1. Informants contend that at Sandy Lake the structure was a little different but no further information was elicited.

rite is performed the victim is soon spitting blood and then dies.

There are still other means of harming those you dislike. A young informant stated that sometimes "medicines" are prepared and placed under the snow in the path of the intended victim. When the victim walks over the medicines he becomes sick. This may be done when someone laughs at a person and he becomes angry. "Then you make manito'hke to get even with him." The informant could not describe the actual "medicines" prepared and used. There is perhaps some question that real "medicines" are used in this manner. Confirmation could not be obtained from older informants who talked rather freely on other aspects of witchcraft. According to these informants it is possible to "plant medicines" by supernatural means which will harm those at whom you are angry. Some men have the power to send trouble of this type a long distance. They have the skin of a particular animal, with attached head, feet and tail, which they call to life and instruct to travel to a particular place where the animal is to place "medicines" in the path of the intended victim. An informant said that not too many years ago the following happened to him. One day the chief warned him of danger. He told the informant not to let his children go outside since they might be harmed because of "medicines" which had been planted in all the paths about the village. If one of his children were to step on this "medicine" he or she would be harmed. A few days later the chief returned, said that the trouble was now over, and that it was safe for the children to go outside.

Instead of planting medicines the animal may attack the victim directly. In this case medicines are placed inside the skin and the animal comes to life. It then travels to where the man's enemy is living and causes him harm directly. One man was said to have had a wolverine skin for this purpose. Once he sent it to harm another, but the intended victim had the power to send the animal back. When the wolverine got to the door of its owner's cabin it died. The owner at that moment lost his power and soon thereafter died. Another method consists of sending "power" in the form of a vision (išinišahama'ke'win) such as wi'ntiko to frighten or kill an enemy.

There is still another means whereby a person can cause harm to those whom he dislikes. The actual means by which this is done was never explicitly stated by informants. The idea is that certain objects (pimota'hkwa'n) are sent against your victim even though he is far away. They enter the victim and frequently cause his death. It is said that there are ten types¹ of pimota'hkwa'n obtained from dreams. This is perhaps the most powerful kind of witchcraft or sorcery. Not all ten types of pimota'hkwa'n could be described by informants but they did mention several forms. One is a small needle-shaped object which is sometimes barbed. It is made from a particular kind of mud (wapano'nak) and molded into a pencil shape. A strand of the maker's hair is always mixed with the mud. It can also be made of wood or bone. Those made of bone are

1. Ten is a ritual number among the Round Lake Ojibwa.

barbed so that they continue to work their way into the victim and will not come out. There are other types of pimota'hkwa'n. Pieces of tin can be cut in different shapes. These are often round and tied with a piece of string, as is sometimes the case with other types. Sometimes a metal needle or a gun shell is used.

There are three ways in which the pimota'hkwa'n travels. It can be sent up into the sky and then comes straight down on the victim, it can be sent straight at the person, or it is sent under the ground and comes up into the person. When a man with the appropriate power is attacked, the pimota'hkwa'n lands near him rather than entering him. He can then obtain the object and send it back to its owner, sometimes causing him harm or at least preventing him from causing further harm with that particular type of pimota'hkwa'n. The aggressor may continue to send different types hoping that one will be unfamiliar to his victim and kill him.

Several cases have occurred in the recent past in which pimota'hkwa'n was employed. One time a man from Weagamow Lake was working on the brigades traveling between Lake Winnipeg and Sandy Lake, accompanied by a man from North Spirit Lake. One evening the North Spirit Lake man told his companion that "something" was getting close to them. They did nothing about this but went ahead and had supper. After they had finished eating they found a large toe nail in the bottom of one of the dishes. It was tied with coloured string. The North Spirit Lake man said that that was the trouble. He took the toe nail but said he did not want to send it back to kill but just to keep more troubles away. He put lard on the toe nail, wrapped it in paper, and burned it in the fire. After that there was no more trouble. This action on the part of the North Spirit Lake man was possible since he had the same power as the one who was trying to harm him.

In a second case recorded, a chief from the Round Lake Ojibwa had troubles with a Cat Lake man. The chief had gone to Cat Lake and while there a man took his gun, giving him an old one in return. As the chief did not want to trade guns, he took back his own and started to get ready to return home. The Cat Lake man was very angry and told the chief he would give him trouble right away. The chief said, "If my God can take my life He can do what He wants." The Cat Lake man replied, "What I say, you can see right away as I promise it." He told the chief he would have trouble immediately. The chief said, "You are the same age as I. You can do what you want." The chief, accompanied by another Round Lake Ojibwa man, then started for Weagamow Lake. The first night they saw a fire¹ approaching. The chief's companion was frightened, but the chief told him not to be as he could do something. The chief caught the object which the Cat Lake man had sent, and sent it back to the Cat Lake man. After that he had no more difficulty with the Cat Lake man except for one occasion some time later. The chief did just enough to hold back the trouble sent by

1. A red light or fire seen at night is an omen of witchcraft and is a common means of identifying the practice of manito'hke. The light often is thought to be pimota'hkwa'n traveling against a victim.

the Cat Lake men, but did not harm him.

Similar to pimota'hkwa'n are mite'mi'kiss. These are beads both large and small which have great power. They can be sent to kill in the same manner as pimota'hkwa'n and perhaps in this context should be considered merely another type of pimota'hkwa'n. They are still employed by men in neighbouring communities but Round Lake Ojibwa were either reluctant to discuss them or else were not familiar with them. An informant from a neighbouring community said that a man there employed mite'mi'kiss, but the informant contended that he had never had an opportunity to see them. The man was said to have a pouch or box on which was a design done in mite'mi'kiss which gave him power. The design consisted of two eyes, a nose, a mouth with sharp teeth. With this beaded pouch the man was able to increase his hunting luck, and could tell when someone was trying to harm him.

Medicines, such as mite'mi'kiss and pimota'hkwa'n, are kept in an animal skin bag (kaškipita'kan), or birch bark box (wi'kwa'sse'mihtikowa'sš). A powerful shaman may have several of these. All informants contend most emphatically that these were all destroyed shortly after Christianity entered the area of Round Lake. If informants are correct, these still exist among peoples in neighbouring communities, and it may be suspected that some still remain in the village of Round Lake. There is no absolute proof one way or the other. The teachings of Christianity have been such that it is likely that anyone possessing one would never admit it.

Much of the above data describing the employment of manito'hke' is said by informants to apply to other communities, and not to the community of Round Lake. While this, as said before, is probably correct for much of the information, the Round Lake Ojibwa still recognize the effects of manito'hke' and fear the harm their neighbours may cause them. They consider much of the misfortune that befalls them as due to manito'hke'. Practically all cases of illness, accident, and death are attributed to the sorcery of others. A number of cases occurred during the course of fieldwork and others were detailed which had occurred shortly before. In all cases, sorcery is thought to be operating because of certain events which either precede or follow the disaster. Strange lights are seen; dreams or unusual events such as the peculiar actions of animals at the time of the misfortune may provide the answer. Whatever it is, the Round Lake Ojibwa are convinced that someone is trying to harm one of their people. They are unable to say in most cases exactly which of the methods outlined above is used to send the harm.

Several cases in which misfortune is attributed to sorcery are described in the following. One man was worried about the death of his first son, since both of his wife's sisters' sons had also died.¹ Accordingly, the man's father-in-law had no grandsons. This was strange. The informant talked this matter

1. Although a slightly shorter account of this case has been given, Kin Relationship, p. B15-16 it is felt that it is appropriate to repeat the case here in the present context.

over with his wife's sister's husband and they agreed that something was wrong. They suspected that their father-in-law was causing the trouble.¹ They knew he had had power in the past, which he was supposed to have relinquished, but still, they felt, his power might cause harm. Then the informant's wife bore a second son but on this occasion, unlike the former, parturition took place at a hospital. Right after his wife and infant son returned, the informant had a dream. He saw a white bear (wa'pahkwa) walking around his house and sniffing. It had come to kill his son and was the power of his wife's father. The informant immediately woke his wife, told her that her father was trying to kill their son, and explained the dream to her. Later he told his father-in-law about his dream. The informant did not explain exactly how he was able to save his son's life, but to date no harm has come to him.

Another case occurred only a few years ago. In this instance it was thought that manito'hke' was being directed against a Euro-Canadian couple living at Weagamow Lake.² Every morning a mo'skaho'ssi (American Bittern or Great Blue Heron) was seen sitting in a tree near this couple's house or on the house itself. This was considered a bad sign since it was unusual behavior for this species. Soon after, the couple became sick and left the village never to return. It was thought that their illness had been caused by manito'hke' directed against them by someone in another community.

Native preachers from the community of Round Lake have an occasion attempted to convert members of neighbouring communities located to the southwest. Frequently, if not always, they have been opposed by certain members of these communities. In one case a Round Lake Ojibwa preacher, when attempting to proselitize, was threatened with "evil power." The preacher said he had no fear since the power of God (manito') was stronger. On his return to Weagamow Lake he felt the presence of "evil power" directed against him but no harm resulted. Another preacher was told he could be harmed immediately, or on reaching home. After his return, he woke one night and saw a man standing by the side of his bed. It was "evil power" sent against him. He immediately began to pray, and soon the "evil power" vanished. On a second night, he woke and saw a very large snake approaching him. Again this was "evil power" coming to harm him. Again he prayed to God (manito'), and the snake soon disappeared without harming him.

Cases are not always as simple as these, or as easily explained. There are occasions when both the old and the new religious beliefs are involved to explain the events observed. At one time the old beliefs may be referred to for

1. This is one of the best cases showing latent hostility that exists between a man and his father-in-law. Logically from the point of view of the father-in-law he would never wish to harm his grandsons, who would be a great pride to him. But the sons-in-law immediately suspected their father-in-law, and used him as a scapegoat for their own loss and sorrow.
2. It is not uncommon that the misfortunes befalling Euro-Canadians are attributed to sorcery. The Euro-Canadians are thought to have harmed in some way the Ojibwa or Cree and are being punished by the offended party.

an explanation, while at another the same case may be interpreted by the same informant in terms of Christianity. The explanations may be contradictory rather than complementary. Recently a native preacher met with a minor accident. When discussing the case an informant stated that he was sure it was due to the operation of manito'hke directed against the preacher from outside. As evidence the informant pointed out that the wound received did not cause him any pain. This was strange. The informant thought that "evil" had come from the south but was unable to state exactly where, since the native preacher had recently visited a number of southern communities where he had tried to convert the people. The "evil" could have come from Pikangikum, Red Lake, Sioux Lookout, Dryden, or Fort William. There were powerful shamans in all these places, especially in the more southern ones. As additional proof that this was what happened, the informant said he had dreamed that "evil power" attacked the preacher. In his dream he saw a man walking toward Weagamow Lake, coming from the south. He had a large snake with him which was a foot or so wide and perhaps forty feet long. As they approached the village the man stopped, but the snake darted ahead, then turned sharply, and rejoined the man. After this they left for the south. This was the "evil power" which came and had successfully attacked the native preacher.

Two weeks later the same informant gave a different version of the affair. He said that a good Christian was a person who faced all adversities with faith and believed that God (mantio) inflicted misfortune to test him. The informant then cited the case of the native preacher who had met with the accident as an example of a very good or "strong" Christian. When the accident occurred the preacher said, "Praise the Lord. He has decided to send me somewhere to preach His word." The man was sent to the hospital and there he preached. He was happy that this had occurred. The informant appeared at the time to believe this explanation of the accident, although previously he had considered it the result of "evil power." It was not possible to resolve the two points of view. Perhaps there really was no confusion in the mind of the informant, and he considered that both explanations could be equally true. Yet, other discussions with this man clearly indicated his confusion regarding the old and new religious beliefs. He was constantly vacillating between the two, unable to accept either fully.

Less than a week later the same informant again discussed the accident. As at first, he was convinced that it was the result of manito'hke directed against the native preacher and his family. The informant had not told the preacher his dream and was sorry that he had not done so; yet he felt that the native preacher had enough power from the Holy Ghost to ward off the "evil." Nevertheless, although the "evil power" might not kill him, it still could cause him and his family harm.

The case did not end here. Right after the native preacher returned from the hospital he became sick. There was something the matter with his chest. Perhaps, the informant said, there was trouble with his heart. Shortly thereafter the preacher's wife also became sick. This was all very suspicious. Then the informant had another dream regarding the native preacher, and this he told

his wife. In the dream, he saw an "animal" coming toward the village under ground. On nearing the village, it came out of the ground and inflicted the original wound on the preacher. The "animal" then hastily departed. The informant now appeared convinced because of his dream and the illnesses that "evil power" was being directed against the preacher and his family.

Another case of illness which occurred during the winter of 1958-59 was attributed to the operation of manito'hke. A young woman became sick.¹ She had some kind of menstrual disorder. That it was the result of manito'hke rested on post hoc reasoning. Several weeks before the girl became sick the informant and his wife remembered having seen a light "bounding" along the lake to the house where this girl was living. Then, after the girl became sick, an owl was heard outside the house every night. The informant said this indicated the operation of manito'hke in the old days and implied that the same held true at present. The informant also remembered that the summer before a Round Lake Ojibwa man had sent money to a man in a neighboring community. It was implied that this was to hire a shaman to cause the girl harm. The informant thought that the father of the girl and the man who sent the money were having trouble², and that the latter was causing the former trouble by having his daughter inflicted with illness. The girl was sent to the hospital but soon returned to the village as there was no indication of any organic illness. She was still not well, and could do little work. Furthermore, she had recently caught a bird (hawk?) in a snare. This was a most unusual occurrence and was a warning of trouble. Accordingly, everything tended to point toward the continuing operation of manito'hke.

A final case might be mentioned. A few years ago two Round Lake Ojibwa men had words.³ Shortly thereafter the home of one of these men caught fire. Everyone joined in and put the fire out. Three days later the fire started again and was again stopped successfully. The other man involved in the original argument was seen laughing about the fires that occurred. He said that that would teach his opponent not to argue and get "mad at" him. It was clearly implied that manito'hke had been employed to cause the fires.

Today, although the concept of manito'hke has become weakened and altered in certain respects, it still tends to operate along much the same lines as formerly. At the same time Christian power tends to parallel manito'hke in some ways. It is not, however, recorded as being employed to harm others although there is some slight suggestion that it may be developing in this direction. In general, Christian power, like manito'hke, is employed to protect one

1. Several similar cases occurred during late winter, 1959, in which young girls were involved. This is the only case with sufficient detail for discussion in regard to the operation of manito'hke. The other cases are discussed later when the subject of illness and accident is outlined.
2. One of the contestants was a Windigo Lake man and the other a Weagamow Lake man. This of course fits the pattern of neighbourhood splits which follow the old band divisions.
3. As in the previous case one man was from the Windigo Lake Neighbourhood and the other from the Weagamow Neighbourhood.

from harm, gain hunting luck, and on occasion to prevent the practice of manito'hke'.

By means of God's power and through prayer, the effects of manito'hke' can be mitigated. Several cases of this nature have been noted above. Another was recorded which occurred a few years ago. A relative of the informant went with a native preacher to a neighbouring community to work. On one occasion they heard drumming coming from a manito'ki'wak ceremony. They went over and the drumming stopped. The drummer simply did not have the strength to move his arms and beat the drum. The native preacher had told no one he was a preacher, but his power was greater than that of the drummer and prevented him from continuing.¹

Christian power is also involved with hunting and trapping. One man told how he once was examining his traps and saw where an otter had been caught but had disappeared with the trap. He spent all night looking for them, only sleeping a little before sunrise. He couldn't sleep as he was sorry about losing his trap and the otter skin, which would have brought a high price at that time. He was very sorry because his children wanted some things at the store. He continued looking until noon; then he stopped. As he had his Bible with him, he began to pray. After this he again began to look and immediately found the otter and the trap.

Effects of Religious Power (Illness and Accident):

There are no known rituals or practices by means of which the effects of manito'hke' or other forms of supernatural power can be warded off unless the victim has the appropriate power or can hire the proper practitioner. Charms and amulets as such are unknown in this connection. A person who has the appropriate manito'hke' for the occasion or is possessed by the "Holy Spirit" can generally ward off the power of others, but this is not necessarily so in every case. Several instances of this nature have been recounted above and little more need be said here.

Although accidents and deaths can be understood by the Round Lake Ojibwa in realistic terms (i.e. as due to natural causes), they are quite likely to be interpreted in terms of the operation of manito'hke', or as due to other supernatural causes. Harm may befall an individual because he angers another who then employs manito'hke' against him; because he breaks a social convention or a taboo; because he harms an animal; or because he talks disrespectfully about nature. Some illnesses attributed to supernatural causes can be considered truly psycho-somatic, and probably result primarily from fear of sorcery. There is unfortunately no direct evidence that this is the case at Weagamow Lake. Nevertheless, cases do occur in which medical personnel can find nothing organically wrong with the patient, and yet the patient is upset, mentally disturbed, and complains of certain physical disorders. It is not the purpose here to go into details regarding medical problems among the Round Lake Ojibwa, but

1. An informant once told me that if I went with a particular man to a neighbouring community I would probably not be able to see certain of the rituals because this man had Christian power. His power would prevent the performers from conducting the rituals.

rather to explore the problems caused by belief in the operation of manito'hke' and similar phenomena.

Illness and accidents attributed to supernatural causes are known by the general term aniššina'pe'wa'hpine' or inini'wa'hpine', in distinction to illnesses and accidents due to natural causes, referred to as a'hkosi'. Any sickness or accident such as tuberculosis, colds, cuts, etc may be considered to belong to either category depending on the circumstances of the case.

In the category aniššina'pe'wa'hpine' are included accidents caused by manito'hke' (inakima'kaniwi) and a number of illnesses frequently involving mental disturbances. The term oncine' is applied to almost any type of illness attributed to supernatural causes, whether accompanied by psychological aberrations or not. In addition, there are at least four named varieties of mental illness, pi'ntikaha'kaniwi, ki'wa'škwe', ki'wa'škwe'ya'tisi, and ne'hpiciki'wa'škwe'.¹ As far as is known at present only the first has a single specific origin. It results from the performance of the kossa'pancikan rite. The others have multiple causes.

pi'ntikaha'kaniwi has been mentioned previously. No cases were recorded of any Round Lake Ojibwa ever having been inflicted with this illness. Informants merely declared that a powerful kossa'pantamo'winini would cause this illness in others provided the intended victim did not have the same power (i.e. to perform the kossa'pancikan rite). If he had the power, he might become sick, but only a very short time. A person afflicted with pi'ntikaha'kaniwi acts "crazy", grabbing sand and moss to eat. Eventually he falls down and goes into a trance. If he lacks the power to help himself, or if no one with the appropriate power is present to aid him, he soon dies.

Another form of mental illness, ki'wa'škwe' is said to occur more frequently than pi'ntikaha'kaniwi. An individual afflicted becomes violent, and may attack others. In some cases he must be forcibly restrained. The victim becomes very strong, runs out of the house and may try to jump into the water. Sometimes he may lose his voice and at times may become unconscious. If the illness continues, the individual may lose the power to walk and finally dies. One case occurred during the winter of 1958-59. A young married woman was seized one evening with ki'wa'škwe'. She ran out of the cabin but was soon caught by her husband. Although she was very strong he was eventually able to get her back inside. The attack lasted for only a couple of hours. No explanation could be given as to why or how she had been afflicted.

Several other cases were recorded which occurred in other communities. In these cases manito'hke' had been employed to cause the illness. One case has been given above in which the kossa'pancikan rite was performed to inflict ki'wa'škwe' on a man at Cat Lake. In a second case, a Fort Severn man employed his power to cause a young man from Trout Lake to be afflicted with

1. No individuals were observed closely who were suffering from any of these illnesses, but it can be suggested that they may be forms of "arctic hysteria." Considerably more work is needed on medical problems among the Round Lake Ojibwa.

this illness. He sent his power in the form of a vision (išinišahama'ke'win) to punish the young man for bothering the girls at Fort Severn when he came there during the summer on the brigade. The illness lasted for only one winter and was intended merely as a warning.

ki'wa'škwe'ya'tisi appears to be of relatively infrequent occurrence. No cases were recorded of any Round Lake Ojibwa having been inflicted with this illness. Only one case was recorded and that from another community. ki'wa'škwe'ya'tisi is a non-violent form of ki'wa'škwe'. The afflicted individual is afraid to see people and tries to hide. He does not attempt to harm anyone. In the case recorded the illness was not the result of manito'hke', but was rather equated with oncine' which is discussed below.

ne'hpiciki'wa'škwe' occurs but rarely. At present there is only one case, a Round Lake Ojibwa woman who is now in the hospital. This illness appears to be similar to if not identical with "wi'ntiko' psychosis". In the case recorded, it was said the woman spoke like a wi'ntiko', was very strong, and attacked others. In other words she had become a wi'ntiko'. Her family was afraid of her. She had been afflicted with ne'hpiciki'wa'škwe' for a number of years but the spells were infrequent and of short duration. She merely had to lie down for a few minutes and then was all right again. After her husband died, she became worse and finally had to be sent to the hospital where she is said to have become progressively worse.

No information was secured as to why this person became ne'hpiciki'wa'škwe'. In some instances the person simply disappears and becomes wi'ntiko' or the person may be forced to eat human flesh after which he or she becomes a wi'ntiko'. A number of stories were told of this having occurred in the past.

The precise meaning of the term oncine' is difficult to define. It refers to illness, but includes a number of different types which are the result of past actions either of the victim or some member of his family. It is not the result of manito'hke'. It occurs when a person abuses an animal or another person, is sacrilegious, has improper sexual relations, or fails to tell his dreams to his male descendants. The illness may effect the originator of the improper action, his son, his son's son and/or his son's son's son.¹ The symptoms of oncine' are varied and numerous - weakness, hip deformity, pain in the side, pain in the groin, skin disease, pain across the chest, bloody bowel movements, and urinary disorders.

A number of cases of oncine' were recorded which had occurred at both Round Lake and in neighbouring communities. A description of these will help perhaps to clarify the concept. One informant told the following. He said that when he was a young boy he was once living with an uncle. They had some bear fat and fish powder in a fish skin frozen and hung up outside the lodge. A gray jay was seen stealing the meat and fat. The informant caught the jay in a snare and brought it inside. His uncle said, "we can make the jay suffer," and with that put the head of the bird repeatedly through a hole in the stove. The

1. This involvement of four generations may stem from influences of Christianity or may simply be a reflection of the extension to which kinship is carried lineally.

jay was burnt all over the head but could still fly. Finally the skin on the birds head was all cracked but still it could fly. After that they killed the bird. A few years later the informant went to the hospital. There he met his uncle and noticed that his head and shoulders were covered with bandages. He asked his uncle what was wrong and his uncle said he didn't know and neither did the doctors. He said that sometimes the skin from his face peeled off and he bled. Any improvement in his condition was only temporary. One day the informant asked his uncle if it might not be oncine because of what he had done to the gray jay. His uncle thought it might, since his affliction was only from the shoulders up, involving the same area where the jay had been burned. After that his uncle got better. The informant added that if one tells the patient about the cause of the illness, it goes away and never comes back. This would happen only with certain types of oncine.

In another case, said to have occurred not too long ago, a man took a sharpened stick and thrust it into the leg of a "frog" (perhaps toad is meant here) and then let the animal go. About ten years later this man's son injured his hip.¹ This was considered oncine because of what the boy's father had done to the "frog."

A few years ago a man accidentally shot his brother in the side. It was during the winter and very cold. They had little food, no blankets, and there were few trees in the area to protect them from the wind. The injured man suffered a great deal before he died. Then about three years ago the surviving brother began to have pains in his side (this malady is called iškisi) in the same place where he had shot his brother. This was the start of oncine. The man tried to rest and cure the condition, but it has continued to worsen.

Several members of one family have been afflicted at one time or another with oncine, two during the course of fieldwork. The informant (the husband in this particular family) said that when he was a boy he had very intense pains across the base of his chest cavity every spring (March and April) and occasionally during the summer. The pains occurred each morning just as the sun rose and lasted for about an hour. During this time he could neither eat or drink. If he did he vomited. His mother used to place hot pads on his chest to relieve the pain.

It was at this time in his life that the informant received several dreams. One was of a very large rapid.² The other dream involved a very high mountain. The top of this mountain was in the form of a long narrow ridge. It was very dangerous to walk along this ridge, but in this dream he was forced to do so. Once he slipped and fell, sliding down the side of the mountain in a landslide. He finally reached the bottom and then looked up. He could not see the others walking along the ridge as it was so very far away. Then someone grabbed him and pulled him back up on the ridge where he continued his journey.

After he had these dreams the informant went to an old man and told him about them. They discussed the implications of the dreams in connection with

1. From the description given it is likely that this is a case of hip deformity common to the area and yet it was reported as an accident.
2. Rapids are considered the home of miššipišiw.

the pains in his chest. They decided the informant's illness was oncine, resulting from the fact that his grandfather had forgotten to tell one of his dreams. It was this dream that the informant had received. The old man told the informant that if he ever had any sons they too would be afflicted with minor ailments because of this neglect on the part of his grandfather. And then in 1958 his young son became sick with bloody bowel movements. This the informant related to his own former sickness and attributed to oncine. He consulted a mite'wimaškihki'winini of Weagamow Lake, and told him of the dreams. The shaman was familiar with them and knew what they meant. He told the informant not to worry since the illness was not serious and that his son would soon be well. More recently still, a daughter of the informant became sick and this he feels must be oncine also. She was sent to the hospital because of pains in her right side and groin, but the doctors could find nothing wrong. Several days after her return the pains recurred, she felt like vomiting, and had trouble urinating. Since the doctors had been unable to identify any cause, the informant felt this must be oncine. The informant did not know what to do, but felt the trouble might be due to a dream one of his ancestors forgot to relate before he died.

oncine may also result from improper sexual unions. An informant stated that in the past oncine occurred if a man had intercourse with a menstruating woman or came in contact with menstrual blood. He did not think this was the case today. Rather it was the Bible that indicated it was improper. Nevertheless the idea of contamination by menstrual blood still prevails, and is avoided by the use of contraceptives during a woman's menstrual period, suggesting that oncine may still be thought to result from this cause.

There is another means whereby oncine can be contracted. If a man has a "bush woman" (pikwaihkwé) as a lover,¹ and then has intercourse with a married woman she will develop a form of oncine. If her husband has intercourse with her he will get oncine. If the man who is having an affair with a "bush woman" is married, he or his wife may get oncine if they have intercourse. Whatever the situation the pikwaihkwé is jealous and causes the illness.

The belief in pikwaihkwé is an interesting one. Young men obtain pikwaihkwé through dreams of a female animal or repeated dreams, either of a girl or of a particular animal or duck. Informants said that only unmarried men had pikwaihkwé and that on marriage the pikwaihkwé vanished. In spite of this, cases recorded suggest that it is not the case every time. One instance was recounted in which pikwaihkwé caused oncine among several members of a family. In this case the trouble appears to have started a number of years ago. A man now dead had a pikwaihkwé. When he married he developed oncine, in this case a urinary disorder. Whenever he felt badly he went into the bush and met the pikwaihkwé. Eventually he died of the sickness. His sons and their offspring are to this day troubled with oncine, urinary and menstrual disorders. One son had a pikwaihkwé and eventually died of oncine. His first

1. Women sometimes have "bush men" (pikwacinini) as lovers.

marriage was said to have been untroubled. After the death of his wife he did not wish to remarry, but wanted to live alone; he was happy to be in the bush and away from people. A chief finally persuaded him to remarry, but the marriage was not successful. His widow contends that he still had a pikwathkwe' and that accordingly the marriage was a troubled one.

The pikwathkwe' look like white women with brown or sometimes green hair. This latter was the only difference from a normal woman. A man who has a pikwathkwe' goes into the bush and there sings about the colour of her hair. The pikwathkwe' immediately appears.

There is another way in which oncine' may be caused, although the information is not conclusive. In 1959 a woman was having urinary disorders. Her mother had died of the same thing. An informant said that this might be oncine' although he was not sure¹ since, according to him, there was no specific name for the illness. Her sickness was attributed to the actions of a kossa'pantamo'winini in a neighbouring community. The previous summer a Round Lake Ojibwa man had brought word from the kossa'pantamo'winini to the effect that he wanted to marry this woman since she was now a widow. She had taken no action, and it was feared the kossa'pantamo'winini was angry and causing her illness. Ever since she had become sick, footsteps had been heard at night in the vicinity of her home but nowhere else. As this could not be the teenage boys on their nightly prowls, since they wandered throughout the village, it must be the work of the shaman. One informant expressed the hope that there would be no real "trouble" because of her not marrying the shaman.

Determining Cause of Misfortune and Remediating It:

Formerly it was often the duty of the shamans to determine whether particular ailments and accidents were the result of sorcery and if they were, to try to cure them. Today there are fewer shamans, and more faith is placed in the medicines and treatments of Euro-Canadian doctors and nurses, and in Christianity. It is difficult to state to what extent these medical personnel care for the Round Lake Ojibwa. The Ojibwa have certain home remedies for minor ailments which never come to the attention of Euro-Canadians. Furthermore, in some cases the patient is treated with both native remedies and Euro-Canadian medicines. A crude guess might be that 75% of the disorders treated come under the care of outside medical personnel. Yet in certain cases, especially those in which the doctors and nurses state that there is nothing wrong with the pa-

1. Unfortunately little precise information was obtained as to exactly how particular illnesses are identified and the causal factors isolated. It might be suggested that there is no standard method whereby a number of individuals can arrive at the same conclusion independently. Rather it appears that by means of informal discussion among members of the community a solution is arrived at on which all generally agree. This would explain the fact that for several weeks after an event occurs there are often several interpretations. It is not until later that a general consensus of opinion is arrived at.

tient, the services of shamans are called upon. The practice is probably more frequent than informants are willing to admit.

The cause of illness may be determined by means of the kossa'palcikan rite, or the person consulted may "know" on the basis of his power. Treatment of the patient is of several kinds. He may be administered esoteric herbal remedies,¹ told to perform certain actions, or mechanical-magical means may be employed. Informants say that in mental cases if the sufferer's grandmother or another old woman talks to him or her, a cure may be effected. If a person dreams of what is causing another's illness and speaks to him about it, he is soon well. Finally, drumming and singing were used in the past and may still be used in some of the neighbouring communities. At Weagamow Lake their place has been taken by prayer meetings held over the patient.

Today, only one man in the community of Round Lake is said to know anything about curing and his power is said to be weakening. Five to ten years ago there were others with the power to cure. Even though there were shamans in the community, the Round Lake Ojibwa sometimes went to neighbouring communities to consult the shamans there, and it is suspected that on occasion they still do so. A case of this nature occurred a few years ago. A Weagamow Lake man felt very weak and sick. Not knowing what was wrong with him, he visited a kossa'pantamo'winini in a nearby community. When he arrived he spoke to the shaman. The latter said he could find out what was wrong by performing the kossa'palcikan rite. Four men, including the one from Weagamow Lake but not the kossa'pantamo'winini, constructed a kossa'palcikan. Each had his allotted task. Two men collected the poles, one tied the structure together with wi'kop, and one covered it with hide. After the kossa'palcikan was finished it could not be used immediately but had to stand unused for one day. During that time the kossa'pantamo'winini spoke to no one, but remained in a quiet place and smoked. When night arrived the kossa'pantamo'winini entered the kossa'palcikan and it began to shake. The people gathered about and asked the kossa'pantamo'winini different questions. The Weagamow Lake man wanted to know what was causing his sickness and wanted to speak to his father, who had been dead for sometime. A train was heard going away and then returning to the kossa'palcikan, although there was no railroad anywhere in the vicinity.² As soon as the train returned, the Weagamow Lake man heard his father talking. His father said, "My son, the reason why you are sick comes from my dream. Because I did not give my dream to you or someone else before I died, you have become sick. Some day, my son, you will die because of my dream." The failure of the father to disclose one of his dreams resulted in his son's developing oncine. After the kossa'palcikan rite was finished the kossa'pantamo'winini told the Weagamow Lake man that if he wished to get better he

1. mite'wimaškihki as distinct from household medicines (maškihki) known to all.

2. One of the kossa'pantamo'winini dreams for power was of a train which then became one of his spirit helpers.

must build a new cabin on his return to Weagamow Lake. He also told the man that he was to return in a certain month. The man did neither of these things, and on that account he never got any better.¹

In those cases where a person is attacked with pimota'hkwa'n he sometimes vomits blood, a common symptom of this illness. Informants contend that if a person is struck by pimota'hkwa'n, there is only one thing that can be done. The patient must be taken into the bush and left alone in a very clean place. A shaman² then goes to him and attempts a cure, since he will know what struck the person. One case was recorded in which a mite'wimaškihki'winini cured a man suffering from an attack of pimota'hkwa'n. He had been hit directly under the chin. The victim consulted a shaman in a neighbouring community. The shaman escorted him to a tent erected at a special place. He then took a small metal tube wrapped in a cloth and pushed it into the patient's throat just below the chin. As he did this the cloth wrapping was pushed back, only the tube entering the patient. After this had been done the tube was removed, and the shaman placed his hand over the open end of the tube. He then removed his hand, turned the tube on end, and tapped it gently. Several tiny wire springs fell out. It was these that had been shot into the man. After they had been removed there was no bleeding and the wound healed quickly. The patient was immediately relieved.

The present mite'wimaškihki'winini, as a young man, cured his mother when she was very sick. He went into the bush and secured the blossoms of a particular plant. These he placed in a cup of water which immediately changed to a bluish colour. He poured this liquid into his mother's mouth, and she was soon better. This was manito'hke'. In another case that occurred some years ago a shaman was asked by a man, who also possessed power, to cure his son. This he did: one evening he slept beside the boy and while he slept transformed himself into a louse, entered the boy, and "cleaned him out."

In minor cases no pay is given the shaman for treatment, but in serious cases payment is made. In the case recounted above in which the boy was cured, the shaman asked the father for his son as a husband for one of his daughters when they grew up. This was agreed to by the boy's father and a few years later the couple were married.

A man who possesses power can sometimes cure himself. Several years ago a man (Bearskin) was struck by a falling log, "breaking" his ribs. This was a natural accident and not caused by manito'hke'. The victim insisted that he be carried into the bush and left there alone. This was done. That night a great noise was heard coming from the place at which the man had been left. A man from the village went to see what was happening. He found the

1. The shaman may impose other injunctions on the patient, telling him, for example, to hang up a certain part of an animal, such as the heart of a moose, and not to eat certain foods or kill certain animals. These prescriptions may be imposed for life or a short period of time. They can only be removed by a shaman.
2. Only a mite'wimaškihki'winini can cure attacks of pimota'hkwa'n.

man standing with all his clothes hanging on the branches of trees about him. He led the man back to camp. The victim recovered slowly but the informant said he would have surely died if he had not had power and been allowed to perform his rites.

Today, besides the occasional employment of shamans, the sick are often treated by the native preachers, who hold a "prayer meeting" for the person. Since a number of people always gather at the bedside of the sick, the preacher always has a congregation on hand. When he arrives, usually in the evening, he leads the gathering in singing hymns and saying prayers to aid the recovery of the patient. This custom has today replaced the former gatherings at which a shaman would sing and drum to aid the sick.

The Social Implications of the Concept of Power:

It can be seen that the native religion is more than simply a means of dealing with the supernatural. It is involved intimately with medical problems and with interpersonal and to a certain extent with inter-community relations. Hostility between individuals is either suppressed, or expressed in terms of manito'hke. Physical violence is practically unknown and is found only among teenage boys who have been drinking. Instead of overt aggressive behavior, the angry individual is expected to resort to some form of sorcery. Since the Round Lake Ojibwa still fear the effects of manito'hke, and because they can never be sure who possesses it and to what degree, they tend to fear one another, and avoid intimate contacts with individuals who are not close kin. Furthermore, since various rites are openly practiced by people in neighbouring communities, these individuals are automatically suspected of trying to harm members of the Round Lake Community. This in turn inhibits inter-community visiting. Generally an individual only visits those communities in which he has relatives. Informants readily admit their fears of others because of the possibility of sorcery. This fear increases with the distance they are located away from Weagamow Lake. The Round Lake Ojibwa know of other Indian communities to a distance of about 250 miles from their settlement, and it is felt that in these marginal areas live people with the greatest amount of manito'hke. Because of this fear of others outside the community, the Round Lake Ojibwa tend to form an isolated unit having some feeling of group solidarity in opposition to other such units.

The majority of cases of sorcery or witchcraft recorded involved the Round Lake Ojibwa with some other community, as can be seen from the cases given previously. Feuding within the community in terms of witchcraft accusations does not occur as frequently as in the case of inter-community disputes,¹ but

1. In reality this may be a false picture. The Round Lake Ojibwa more readily discuss their troubles with neighbouring communities than those occurring within the community, pointing out how bad their neighbours are in contrast to themselves. They desperately try to impress one with the fact that they never have any troubles among themselves. When troubles come into the open they often refuse to discuss them, saying it is not right to talk about other people's business. This front is erected in part or wholly because of

several cases have been recorded above of intra-community witchcraft. Another case of this type occurred a number of years ago. A young man began vomiting blood. As he did, he vomited a piece of metal the size and shape of a quarter with serrated edges. This was pimota'hkwa'n. The man's mother, who possessed some power, took the metal disc and went to another man in the community and handed it to him saying, "This is your medicine. Don't try and do this anymore." After that there was no more trouble.

Feuding was common in the past and exists today although perhaps in a more attenuated form. A man need not necessarily possess manito'hke' himself in order to harm others: he can hire an individual who possesses it. It is said of one particular Weagamow Lake man that, whenever he wishes to cause trouble for someone, he goes to a neighbouring community and pays for it to be done. A case has been given above in which it was thought that this man had done such a thing in 1958. He is greatly feared on this account. Recently, another man in the community lent this man a new canoe. When it was returned the owner did not dare to ask for any rent since he thought the borrower might cause him "trouble" if he did.

Only in a few cases was it possible to discover the factors responsible for the start of a feud. These include, most commonly, difficulty over women and property, the preaching of Christianity to those who still respect the old ways, and the telling of lies. Some of these factors are illustrated in cases already given.

Trouble over women tends to occur at the time of marriage and shortly thereafter. Frequently two men want the same youth for a son-in-law. The man who loses becomes angry, and may try to harm the youth and his wife and/or the woman's father. Several cases of this nature occurred recently.¹ The widow whom a man from a neighbouring community wanted to marry is an example. She did not respond and it was thought that her sickness might be due to anger of her suitor.² Cases in which native preachers have tried to convert members of neighbouring communities and in return have been attacked by witchcraft have been detailed previously, as have those concerning property.

A man with power is thought to have the ability to know whether others have power or not, and in what degree. If such a man "get mad at" another he knows how much power his enemy possesses and can act accordingly. If his opponent has the greater power, there is nothing he can do against him, but, if the reverse is true he can cause him harm. Similarly, some are said to have the ability to tell if others are true Christians. This information seems to conflict in part with earlier statements to the effect that individuals are feared because of their power. It would seem that if they knew who had power, and to what extent, they could be selective and not fear those with less power than themselves. This is not the case. Apparently the situation is that no one really knows what power others have. An individual can only speculate on the basis

their fear of what the Euro-Canadian might do if they heard about cases of trouble.

1. See Adulthood in Social Organization for details pp D30ff.

2. See Effects of Religious Power for details of this case pp D21ff.

of the actions of others and then decide whether or not they have power and in what degree. They can never be sure, and it is this fact that causes them to fear all people for what they might do.

Prophecy:¹

The Round Lake Ojibwa are constantly preoccupied with their fate and the fate of those close to them. This concern for the future, whether it be good luck, accidents, illness, or death, pervades all aspects of their culture. There are several ways in which they can gain information about the unknown and predict what is going to happen. The kossa'pAncikan rite was formerly employed to discover the answers to particular questions and to find lost objects, but this is said to be no longer true at Weagamow Lake. Instead dreams, omens, and the ability to "know" are of extreme importance in divining the future. Many of the actions of the people can be understood only in terms of the revelations they receive which dictate certain courses of action.

Although the Round Lake Ojibwa no longer perform the kossa'pAncikan rite themselves, they occasionally observe and utilize performances held in other communities in order to discover answers to particular questions. The case of the man who wished to discover what was ailing him has been described above. A performance was recently witnessed by a Weagamow Lake man in a neighbouring community. One of the spectators asked the performer why a particular dog of his refused to act as lead dog. The kossa'pantamo'winini called the dog into the kossa'pAncikan and asked the animal why it would not do so. The dog replied that he was too young to act as lead dog since he did not know enough as yet. The dog added that he liked to work as a sled dog, but not as lead dog.

The kossa'pAncikan rite was formerly used to find lost objects. It may still be performed for this reason in surrounding areas, but there is no information to indicate that the Round Lake Ojibwa employ men in these communities to do this for them. The following performance was conducted not too many years ago at Weagamow Lake. An elderly woman remembered her father performing once to find a knife she and her sister had lost in the bush. It was during June, when they had been collecting osi'pan from whitebirch for food. Her father erected a kossa'pAncikan and then went inside, taking a birch bark dish with him. The kossa'pAncikan then began to move and the spirit mihkina'hk (turtle) arrived. The man told mihkina'hk to go and find the knife. When mihkina'hk returned the whole family heard him place the knife in the birch bark box. When her father came out he had the knife.

Today, dreams (pawa'mowin) are of major importance in determining the future and the causes of past actions and events. Dreams are of at least several types. Normal dreaming is indicated in the statement nintaya'pawa'mowin ("I have a dream"). A supernatural dream, on the other hand, is kihke'ntama'wipawa'mo ("He dreams a dream of supernatural significance.") A dream of harm is nimaca'panta'n ("I see something bad; I have a bad dream."). The type of

1. Not all the data to be presented in this section deals with prediction of future events. Yet much of it does perhaps justifying the heading, Prophecy.

dream is not of importance here. What is of importance is the fact that the people are constantly dreaming, interpreting their dreams, and acting accordingly. The Round Lake Ojibwa place tremendous faith in their dreams.

A number of dreams were recorded which indicate the attitude of the people regarding these phenomena. Most of these are, unfortunately, from a single informant. Several have been given in preceding sections of this report and need not be repeated here. The following are examples of nimaca'panta'n. Several years ago the informant had a dream in which he was told that a certain family was in danger. He went immediately to first one member of the family and then a second and told them they were threatened with danger and to be careful. It was of no help: several days later one of the men of the family and his son drowned.

On another occasion the informant had the following dream at a time when his wife was in the advanced stages of pregnancy. He dreamed that the mattress on which she was sleeping was burned in an outline of her body. This was a bad sign and the informant told his wife about it. When the child was born, the dream came true: it only lived two and a half hours.

In another case of a dream indicating bad luck, the informant dreamed that a man came and told him he should have his two youngest children baptized. The man in the dream said that if he didn't do this, his children would go to a certain place, and that he would show it to him. The man led the informant to a hole which went into the ground a great distance, and said that the two children would fall into this hole if they were not baptized. In his dream the informant's oldest child was only about a foot away from the edge of the hole and the youngest somewhat farther, but both were advancing toward it. Therefore, he had little time left in which to act. After having this dream the informant could no longer sleep. He woke his wife and told her. He then decided that he must have his children baptized right away. Difficulties were encountered, and the outcome had not been reached when fieldwork ceased.

Not all dreams prophesy bad luck. Some indicate that something is going to happen which may be good or at least will not harm the individual. A case of this nature occurred during the course of fieldwork. Once a man said he had planned to return to his winter camp the following morning, but on the next morning he was still around. He then related a dream he had had that night in which he saw plane tracks in front of his winter camp. This indicated to him that he would be flown that day to his camp by a particular individual, and that therefore he had decided to remain in the village and wait for the plane. The individual whom he was expecting did not come, but another plane arrived and flew him to his winter camp the same day.

Hunting and trapping dreams are important. A man may receive a dream such as the following just before going on a beaver hunt. The trapper dreams of going inside a beaver house and there seeing everything that the beaver are doing. He dreams exactly where the beaver travel to get their food cached about the house. When a trapper has this dream he can catch beaver every time since he knows exactly where to set his snares. Dreams of a similar nature may in-

dicating the location of other animals, or fish such as sturgeon.

There are several forms of moose hunting dreams which determine whether or not the hunter will be successful. In one type, the individual dreams of walking up a low hill covered with small white birch trees. At the top of the hill there is a house. The hunter enters by way of a door opening into a room full of food. He passes from this room into another also full of food, and then into a third room. After entering the third room he passes through a final door to the outside. After he has proceeded for a short distance he turns, and sees a moose. The dream indicates that he will kill one.

Another informant recounted the following type of dream he had when hunting. If, on the night after he had found moose tracks, he dreamed of walking hand in hand with a girl (this was an honourable love affair), the next day he would kill a moose: if he dreamed that the girl was running away from him, it indicated that he would not get the animal. When this occurred, he said he would return to camp without further pursuit of the animal.

This informant told of trapping dreams he sometimes had. After he had set traps, he sometimes dreamed of seeing a \$5.00 bill lying on the trap he had set. This was a sign he would catch fur in that trap.

There is another type of prophecy dream which sometimes occurs shortly before death. One man who was very sick at the time of fieldwork had the following dream, or as the informant said, "a vision", while he was unconscious. The man said he dreamed he was lying down and a bright light shone down on him. The Lord spoke, and said he would shortly die and enter Heaven, but not to worry since friends of his were there and eventually other friends would come. In addition to hearing these words, he saw many marvelous things in Heaven. After relating the dream, the man said he had led a good life and that whenever any one spoke "badly" to him he did not answer back or do anything. He had tried to lead a good Christian life. According to the informant this man did not fear death and was not worried. In fact, he seemed to be content and happy. The informant added that another man who had died the previous winter had had a similar dream.

Dreams cannot always be interpreted immediately, and years may sometimes pass before their meaning becomes clear. An informant told the following dream which he had many times as a boy. In the dream he was walking somewhere and every time he looked back he saw "small people" in a line, each smaller than the one in front. Wherever he went they followed him. In his dream he was met by a person who asked him what he called the little people. He said he didn't know but thought they were animals. The man then said he could not tell him what kind of animals they were, but instructed him to think what kind of animal they might be. The informant said that now he knew what the dream signified. It was his family. He had many children just like the "animals" following him in the dream.

Besides dreams of prophecy, there is the power to "know"; the power of kikke'ntama ("he knows supernaturally"). Informants could not explain this concept adequately, but it appears to be based on religious power derived either from manito'hke, or the "Holy Spirit", or from both. One informant said that an

individual could receive a warning of good or evil while just sitting and resting. Recently, he said he had the "feeling" that something was going to happen to a particular family. He tried to warn the husband, but without success. That night the man's wife was seized with an attack of ki'wa'škwe'. The same informant said that during the past winter he had been troubled with sleeplessness for a month. He felt it was an omen and that soon a close friend of his would die. Later he learned that a ninto'šim (brother's son) of his had died.

In another instance, a man one day preached in church to the effect that this was the last time, he was afraid, he would have a chance to talk to the people. He felt he might die at his winter camp. This he told the congregation on three different occasions. The man nearly did die at his winter camp before a neighbour got him back to the village. According to the informant, this man had had a "feeling" he would die and added that this type of premonition occurred occasionally. He told of a case that happened several years ago. A trapper was at his winter camp ready to leave for the village. He shook hands with his wife and told her he would not see her again. He died after reaching the village.

Besides premonitions of death, a person sometimes "knows" what religious faith others possess. One informant said that when he preached in church he could look over the audience and tell who in the group were real Christians. He felt as though God was working through his body and implied that the "Holy Spirit" gave him the power to "know" who were the believers and who the non-believers.

In addition to kihke'ntama', there are omens of various kinds. These include nintašimik ("He warns me"), nintašimiko'win ("I experience a mysterious event"), ninci'hci'pis ("I twitch"), and nimo'nis ("My (woman speaking) breast hardens"). By means of these omens an individual is given knowledge of good or bad luck to come.

Perhaps nintašimik is the most common type. In many, if not all cases it is based on the strange actions of animals, birds, and people. Whenever a creature or a person behaves in an unusual manner, he is spoken of as a'ši'wisi ("He acts queerly"), and this indicates that something is going to happen (nintašimik). During the course of fieldwork, a woman one day struck her mother-in-law with a piece of firewood. It was said she was a'ši'wisi, and now misfortune might befall the family. There might be deaths. The informant also cited the case of a man who was always fighting. This was wrong, and the man was a'ši'wisi. Bad luck came, and all except one child died, and shortly afterwards the man himself died. In the case recorded previously in which a heron was seen sitting in a tree near the home of a Euro-Canadian couple or on their house itself, the bird was a'ši'wisi and this was nintašimik. In this case it was a sign of witchcraft. In another recorded instance a woman caught a hawk (?) in a rabbit snare. This was considered nintašimik since this type of bird is almost never caught in a snare, and therefore it was acting queerly. Sometimes two hares are caught in a single snare. Except during the spring when hares are mating, this is considered nintašimik. There are other forms of nintašimik. A fox, which was thought to be rabid, once attacked a man. This was a sign of

bad luck and that someone might die. In another case two men were out hunting and saw a pair of birds land on the water. When they landed they looked like loons, but when they took off they looked like ducks. This was nintašimik. Later one of the men drowned. The meaning of this omen connected with water was now clear. It is also nintašimik to find the eggs of the gray jay, or to see a shrew (?) (nana*hpawa*cinihke*ssi). Both of these events indicate that bad luck will follow.

nintašimiko*win refers to mysterious events of a physical nature, not the actions of the animal world. Only one case of this nature was recorded.¹

There are several forms of ninci*hci*pis. A twitch in one's hand indicates that the hunter will have luck and soon be holding meat. A twitch in one eye means he will soon shoot something. A twitch in the back means good luck in hunting and that he will be carrying game. If one gets a twitch just below the eye, it indicates sadness and tears and that someone will become sick and die. On a nice day if a person gets a twitch anywhere on his face it means a storm is coming: the twitch indicates rain or snow hitting his face. There is a final form of ninci*hci*pis. Occasionally some old women feel something touching their breasts. This sensation is called mo*nisi: it means someone is coming to visit.

Two other omens were recorded but no names for them were collected. If a person sneezes it means that someone is talking about him or her. In the other case a leaf, after it has fallen from the tree in the fall, is picked up and held to the light. The number of holes in the leaf are counted and they indicate the number of years the person has to live.

Propitiation:

Acts of propitiation seem to have been much more important in the past than they are today, although at no time were they of overwhelming concern. Such acts are limited, at least at present, to the proper disposal of certain animal remains. Few informants can give a clear idea why the remains of game animals must be treated with respect. One informant said it was done because otherwise the hunter would not be able to kill any more game. Another man, recounting the proper treatment of bear in the past, said it was done because the hunter possessed manito*hke*. Another informant had still a different version. He said that they never gave moose bones to a dog since the bones would get stuck in the animal's throat and kill it. Finally, shamans when curing sometimes specify that the patient must dispose of certain animal remains in a specific way.²

1. This has been described under Childhood, p. B.40.
2. It is perhaps hazardous at this date and with so little data to suggest that the treatment accorded animal remains by the Round Lake Ojibwa is comparable to the complex among other peoples of the Eastern Sub-arctic in which the remains of game must be treated with respect so that the spirit of the animal and its ruler are not offended, and will grant the hunter more game in the future. When questioned, informants seemed unaware of any game ruler concept.

Although certain animal remains must be treated with respect, at a number of winter camps seen during the course of fieldwork little evidence for this was observed. A moose scapula and duck wings were the only objects seen suspended from branches. There were no special cache racks for the disposal of bones, and in many cases bones were seen freely scattered about the camps. Accordingly, the following information is derived from informants. Moose bones if not thrown in the water are burned and the "bell" from a male moose is tied in a tree. Bear, beaver, and otter skulls are sometimes hung in a tree, or for a time in the cabin at the winter camp, but never at the village. Another informant (Bearskin) said that when he was hunting with another man and they shot a bear, his partner had him throw the head in the water. Bear bones can never be allowed to touch the ground. The lingual frenulum of the bear is dried and kept. Sometimes old people saved the nose of the bear, dried it, and tied ribbons to it.¹ A special cache rack about sixteen feet long and ten feet high, is sometimes built on which to place hare skulls and scapula and walleye and northern pike heads. No other fish heads are placed on the rack. Instead they are fed to the dogs. During November when the lakes first freeze, a hole is cut in the ice and walleye and northern pike heads are placed in the water. According to informants, some of the Round Lake Ojibwa still practice these customs. Certainly on the basis of direct observation, there are a number who do not.

Informants stated that particular species of animals sometimes become "mad at" them, and it is then impossible to capture them. Although informants never specified that this was the result of their neglecting the proper treatment of the remains of the game taken, it can be suggested that this may well be the case. During the period of fieldwork, one trapper did very little trapping for mink. He started the season rather energetically, but stopped after capturing several. The reason given for this was that no mink were coming to his traps. It was reported that another trapper had the same thing happen to him several years ago. The mink simply avoided his traps. Another informant said he could no longer kill moose since they were "mad at" him, although he could not or would not explain why.

Christian Churches:

Christianity entered the area of Round Lake between fifty and seventy-five years ago. The old native rituals were eventually replaced by those of the Christian church, but native religious beliefs and attitudes remained, and with them were incorporated a limited number of Christian ones.

Today there are two churches operating in the village of Round Lake, one the Anglican, and the other the Indian Evangelical affiliated with the Northern Canada Evangelical Mission, Inc. About one half the community belongs to each. That all have religious affiliations is due to the fact that the Round Lake Ojibwa must of necessity declare for one church or the other. It does not mean that they are all equally committed to Christianity. Only a limited number can be consider-

1. It may actually be the chin skin that is kept rather than the nose. However, this question was asked and the informant repeated that it was the nose.

ed deeply concerned with church or doctrines. Perhaps as many as one-quarter of all adults are sincere believers in the Evangelical church and an equal number in the Anglican. It must be stressed that their understanding and beliefs are in terms of their own cultural background, as can easily be seen from the previous discussion.

Particular church membership tends to follow neighbourhood and sub-area lines. Those baptized in the Evangelical church tend to be primarily from the Windigo Lake Sub-area and Neighbourhood with only a few from the Round Lake Sub-area and Neighbourhood. There are none from the Caribou Lake Neighbourhood, but there are a few from the Caribou Lake Sub-area who live in the Round Lake Neighbourhood. Several of these last individuals are contemplating leaving the church. In general, the people of the Caribou Lake and Round Lake Sub-areas tend to be staunch Anglicans. Concomitant with this association between sub-area and church membership is that of kinship. There is a tendency for close relatives to belong to the same church. The extent to which this is true is difficult to determine precisely. Of thirteen sets of brothers (married and unmarried), four are divided as to church membership. The number is less in the case of father and son, and is perhaps similar in the case of mother and son. One informant stated that it was not good for the members of a family to split in church affiliation, and if they were, troubles would arise. He was remaining with his present church because that was the church his father belonged to.

Although only a limited number of Round Lake Ojibwa can be considered even nominally Christian, the majority regularly attend church services. This results from the fact that church services are practically the only form of social recreation available. In addition, church attendance represents an attempt to emulate Euro-Canadian practices. Finally, it is for certain individuals a source of religious inspiration and "power" which operates in conjunction with their own beliefs.

The Anglican church remains closed for the greater part of the year.¹ A student missionary is resident during the summer months, and the missionary from Big Beaverhouse visits occasionally during the rest of the year for a day or so at a time, and holds services. During the winter of 1958-59 a native catechist from a neighbouring community visited Weagamow Lake for several weeks during which time he held services. Several Round Lake Ojibwa are allowed to preach under the supervision of Euro-Canadian missionaries or of a native catechist, but at no other times. They are not allowed to run the church, as was formerly the case. One man has been approached on the subject of his becoming a catechist. As he said, he did not feel that he had the "strength" (power?) as a "boy" (he is unmarried) to do this and, in addition, since the Evangelical church was there, the work would be extremely difficult. Another was considered, and the informant thought he would do well since he was a good man, married, and had a nice family. Whether or not this project materializes remains to be seen.

1. During these times its members by and large attend the Evangelical church.

The Evangelical church is operated in an entirely different manner. It is the church of the Round Lake Ojibwa, guided but not dominated or controlled by the Northern Canada Evangelical Mission, Inc.¹ Visiting Evangelical missionaries and even resident Euro-Canadian missionary cannot preach unless invited to do so by the Round Lake Ojibwa themselves. The missionaries are not there to dictate policy or procedures; their function is purely advisory. The church was first established about 1952-53 by a Euro-Canadian missionary couple. Their first converts were made in 1955 after which they left. No other Euro-Canadian missionaries resided at Weagamow Lake until 1959. In the interval, the Round Lake Ojibwa carried on the operation of the church with only infrequent visits by Evangelical missionaries. In general, it was the younger men and women and, to a certain extent elderly women, who were converted. Most of the older people remained Anglican. Those who were converted immediately gave up smoking, and community dances ceased. Although there are still no dances, smoking is increasing rapidly. This is explained in part, by the fact that the present young people have not joined the church, but have reached an age when they can smoke. In addition, some of those who for a time gave up the practice, have now started again. A certain amount of smoking by adults is done surreptitiously for fear of being criticized by other Evangelical converts, who tend to be outspoken in their condemnation of smoking, drinking and dancing. Several days after the arrival of an Evangelical missionary, one informant said he had not paid him a visit since the latter did not approve of smoking. He added that if he were to make a visit, he might have to hide his pipe. Another informant spoke of the time he bought a pipe, and an Evangelical spoke to him about this and made fun of him.

The Evangelical church is operated by two native preachers (technically "leaders"), a body of five elders and three deacons. All are Round Lake Ojibwa men. The preachers have proselytized the neighbouring community of MacDowell Lake where they have established a small mission run by two elders. Collections made at this mission are forwarded to the church at Weagamow Lake. This missionary work by Round Lake Ojibwa is of interest, and follows an old pattern established at the time the Anglican faith first entered the area.² The governing body of the church conducts all affairs except baptism, which can only be done by a Euro-Canadian missionary, and marriages, which can only be performed (as of 1959) by the Anglican missionary. They hold services daily except Saturday, and generally twice on Sunday. From the money received by collection, they see that the church is kept in repair and painted, that there is always firewood, that records are kept, and that those running the church are paid for services rendered. Loans are also occasionally made in cases of need, but as far as is known only to church members.

The Evangelical church has grown indigenously following the first conversions. The Round Lake Ojibwa themselves have guided its growth with lit-

1. This was the case at the time of fieldwork, but the policies since then appear to be changing.
2. See The Missionary in Historical Background pp. A28-29.

tle help from outside. Several of the church leaders have continued to attend Bible school,¹ and visiting missionaries give further instruction. Because it is their own church and run primarily by themselves, many of the members have a deep pride in the organization, and are active in attempting to gain new converts in the community. The Evangelical church, except for the household and trapping partnerships, is the only functioning institution in the community of Round Lake. There are no political or economic institutions except within the family; there are no strictly social institutions at all, and no other religious institutions aside from the Evangelical church. It, therefore, holds an extremely important position in the lives of the Round Lake Ojibwa.

Besides attending church, many members of the community conduct Christian rituals at home, both Anglican and Evangelical. Unfortunately, only one family was observed closely in this connection. The service was conducted by the the father, although he sometimes delegated this task to his son. Each morning after breakfast, they gathered together and, under the direction of the eldest male, prayed and sang several hymns. They repeated this performance before retiring in the evening. On Sundays, since they were at the time living in the bush, with no church available, they gathered toward noon for prayers and hymns. When praying, each person knelt on the floor and faced away from the gathering.

The Christian:

While openly accepting Christianity and declaring themselves in favor of it, the Round Lake Ojibwa have in reality an exceedingly limited understanding of what it means. Christian doctrines and philosophies have only in part been understood and accepted, and then they are usually interpreted in terms of the old belief system. Christian rituals, on the other hand, have been accepted readily, replacing the native ones. As one informant said, "When Christianity came we learned about baptism, marriage, and sitting in church singing hymns."

Informants are far from clear as to what it means to be a Christian. No consistent or wide ranging set of beliefs has as yet been developed and accepted by the community as a whole. Individuals tend to repeat with little understanding what missionaries have been telling them.² The Round Lake Ojibwa recognize this in part. One informant, when discussing the problem, stated that some individuals are better Christians than others, some even reaching the true Christian life. Another informant said that some people try to understand the church and its work, but he added, "We still do not understand the law (Canadian society in general) that has come."

1. One of these schools is at Meadow Lake, Saskatchewan.
2. Unfortunately, this problem was not recognized until near the end of field-work. Accordingly, there was little opportunity to investigate this aspect of Round Lake Ojibwa culture as fully as it should have been. Christianity at Weagamow Lake appears to be something more than merely another religious system. From the scanty information collected, it may influence interpersonal relations in varying degrees in a manner similar to manito'hke.

The way in which a person becomes a Christian and exactly what the good Christian is, are difficult to clarify. One man said that the Christian gained his knowledge from the Bible. Other informants said that to become a Christian, one must be born again and then he can reach the Kingdom of Heaven. The ideas involved are that one must "give himself to God" and should never doubt that Jesus is "the way, the truth, and the life", since Jesus gave His life for the sins of mankind. Therefore only by accepting Him as ones Saviour, can one obtain "everlasting life." Life here on earth, then, is of importance, only in so far as one accepts Jesus. No matter how many good deeds an individual performs, they are of no value to him unless he has "good things" in his heart. Only if he does will he reach Heaven. This is not merely an individual matter of conscience, either. Some people have the power to know whether or not an individual has "good things" in his heart. This power or ability is arrived at through possessing the Holy Spirit, and by its means a true Christian can tell if another person is or is not a Christian. Their spirits commune.¹

Another characteristic of a good Christian is that he faces all adversities with faith, and believes that God has inflicted these upon him as a test. An informant gave several examples of this. The case involving a native preacher who met with an accident has already been recorded. Another case involved a family who had all recently joined one of the churches. Soon after this the husband and one son died, but the wife subsequently appeared to be a stronger Christian than ever. At the time of her husband's death she was pregnant and when the child was born it too died. Still she remained strong in her faith. God had done these things to test her, to see if she was a good Christian.

A good Christian should never show anger. An informant said that one particular man in the community, who formerly possessed manito'hke, never showed any anger, no matter what happened, after he became a Christian. Previously he was always quick to get mad and fight, and had been known to threaten another with witchcraft on at least one occasion.

The above sketch is based on information derived from both Anglican and Evangelical converts. In many ways there is no real difference between the two faiths as far as the Round Lake Ojibwa are concerned. Most people appear to think broadly in terms of Christians and non-Christians, rather than in terms of particular Christian sects and doctrines. There are some people, though, who are puzzled by the variety of Christian sects. One informant asked in bewilderment how it was that Euro-Canadians could start a new Christian church whenever they wanted to. Another said it was very difficult now that so many missionaries of different faiths were coming to Weagamow Lake.² Their distinc-

1. The same concept applies to those possessing "evil power."
2. One informant, and others appeared to be in agreement, thought it would be best if a Round Lake Ojibwa was thoroughly trained in ministerial duties and then allowed to run church affairs at Weagamow Lake. What he was, in effect, advocating was that all Euro-Canadian missionaries remain away from the community, and allow the Ojibwa to run their own affairs.

tion, therefore, between the Anglican and Evangelical churches is limited. It is said that the Anglican church emphasizes baptism and confirmation, while the Evangelical church emphasized preaching the Gospel, especially the fact that Jesus was crucified for the sins of man. The difference has stimulated a certain amount of bitterness on the part of some men. Several staunch Evangelical church members are constantly trying to convert the Anglicans. One man, who had been repeatedly approached spoke rather bitterly, and said that all they cared for was gaining "everlasting life" and had no concern for others while here on earth. Although these feelings do exist, only a small part of the population appears to be involved. One informant when questioned said he didn't really belong to either church; then shrugged his shoulders and ended discussion on this topic. He simply was not interested in the matter.

Although not all members of the community are involved, the split between two churches - Anglican and Evangelical - has some importance at present. Since the Anglican church is in reality inactive and has no native preachers, the Evangelical church, which is active and has several native preachers, tends to take the lead in community affairs. Yet the split exists, and the native preachers do not have control over all members of the community.

The Soul and Afterlife:

Among the Round Lake Ojibwa the soul is referred to as ahca`hk. Formerly, according to one informant, it was believed that a person received his ahca`hk only at the time he was baptized. Previous to baptism, there was life but no ahca`hk. At the present time, an informant said, the people were beginning to understand that this was not what the Bible said; now they did not know when a person received his ahca`hk. Another informant (a very staunch Anglican), on the other hand, said that in the past it was believed a baby possessed his ahca`hk at birth, but it had no "everlasting life." At present, he thought the foetus was given "everlasting life" by God.

The ahca`hk normally resides within a person, but may on occasion leave temporarily. When this occurs the person becomes unconscious. If the ahca`hk leaves the body permanently death occurs. The ahca`hk then proceeds to one of two or perhaps three places. It may proceed to the "land of the dead" (mite`wahki/"spirit land"/ci`payahki/"dead people land"/, or awassa`pihk/"other side of rock land").¹ Informants are far from clear, but it appears that the "land of the dead" has today become equated with Heaven. The ahca`hk may, on the other hand, go to Hell. Whether a person's ahca`hk goes to Heaven or Hell depends on the religious convictions of the individual. If, when a person hears the Gospel, he believes in it and in Jesus; when he dies he can enter Heaven and have "everlasting life." The individual must do this for himself. A man, for instance, cannot even help his wife and children.

Informants appeared to know little about the way to the "land of the dead." One informant when questioned told the following story. One woman "died" but a few days later she came to life again. When she awoke she said she had traveled a short distance toward mite`wahki and saw many people going the same way. This was the place where formerly all persons possessing manito`hke` went.

same way. Some carried very heavy loads, so heavy that the person had to crawl. The loads the persons carried represented their sins since they had not given up "evil ways", before death.

mite'wahki is described as a place located in the south where one never dies and where everything is nice. Heaven is described in similar terms, but with the addition that when a person arrives there, he will be given rewards by Jesus. The Bible does not state what the pay will be, just that rewards are promised those who reach Heaven. A story is told of a man who once actually visited mite'wahki in a dream and returned. This man was very sorry when a friend died and said, "I can go myself to mite'wahki." He changed himself into a fly and took with him a little square box. When he arrived in mite'wahki it was daytime and no one was to be seen. As the sun set, lots of people began to come out. Finally he found his friend, took his friend's ahca'hk and placed it in the small box. During the day no noise came from the box, but at night there was lots of noise. The man kept the box and gave it good care. One night, however, something was heard to come out of the box and fly back to mite'wahki. It sounded like an o'ci' (Blue Bottle Fly). The man did not return for his friend again. The man who had this experience thought that if he brought his friend's ahca'hk back with him, his friend could return to life, but this he could not do.

Spirit World:

The external world of the Round Lake Ojibwa consists of more than the physical reality recognized by a Euro-Canadian. It is inhabited by a number of spirits which exist in various forms and at different times.

There are the spirits previously mentioned, which bestow either manito'hke' or Christian power on an individual. These spirits are rather ephemeral and often non-localized. They come into being only at the appropriate times - in dreams or when their power is being employed for some purpose. They are not discrete entities which can be observed in the "natural state." Some live in particular spots, or are associated with particular natural features such as miššipišiw, which inhabits rapids. Others are associated with natural phenomena, such as pine'ssi ("thunder spirit") and the wind spirits. In these cases it is difficult to tell whether informants feel that a separate spirit being inhabits these meteorological phenomena, as miššipišiw inhabits rapids, or whether the phenomena themselves represent the spirit beings or whether it is the spirit of the phenomenon. Finally, there are those spirit beings such as i'šikaniyaniššinini ("half-man"), iškote'manito'hka'n ("fire-god-like"), pihkwatina'winini ("mountain people") kana'ci'yahca'hk ("Holy Ghost"), and manito' ("God"), who exist in some remote part of the spirit world rather than within, or associated with, the natural features occurring in the Round Lake area. It is not even clear that they exist, except when they come to an individual.

There is another group of spirit beings who inhabit the area of Round Lake but are not connected, with one possible exception, with the bestowal of power on an individual. Some of these spirits are dangerous to man, others are indifferent to him. Only one, wi'ntiko' is definitely associated with manito'hke'.

Another, amanisso'hka'n, is sometimes an omen of witchcraft. Other spirits in this class are apihcinini'nss ("little person"), me'me'nkwe'ssi ("rock person"), pikwacinini ("bush man") and pikwatihkwe' ("bush woman).

The wi'ntiko', also referred to as ko'hko'sis ("salt pork"), is the most greatly feared of the spirit beings inhabiting the country.¹ The wi'ntiko' wanders about the land attempting to capture people to eat. It is a very large being with a loud voice, and as it walks the earth shakes. One informant said that he had heard that the wi'ntiko' had a heart of ice.

The amanisso'hka'n is an exceedingly common spirit who inhabits the area of Round Lake. It does not harm, but merely scares people. Occasionally children are frightened by it when they are out gathering berries. It looks like a person, and is of the same size. It is a spirit which immediately disappears from sight when observed. The amanisso'hka'n comes at night and tries to steal things, but during the day hides in the bush. Although on occasion it is seen paddling in a birch bark canoe, when it is noticed it immediately goes into the bush. Dogs know when this spirit is approaching and bark. Sometimes it kills dogs. It may be observed walking along the shore but afterwards no footprints can be seen, or a noise is heard in the bush and someone goes to investigate but can find nothing. This is the amanisso'hka'n.

The apihcinini'nss are tiny Indians who are harmless. Formerly, and perhaps to this day, they came at the time of a death, and if the person has died through witchcraft, steal the deceased's tongue. They appear to be of little importance at the present time. me'me'nkwe'ssi are small beings having no noses. They live in those cliffs on which rock paintings are found. It is they who made the paintings occasionally seen in the country of the Round Lake Ojibwa. They neither harm nor help man. The pikwacinini and pikwatihkwe' have been previously discussed.²

There are several places within the area of Round Lake where supernatural beings are thought to dwell. Informants are not sure, in all cases, whether the being which inhabits a particular spot is a wi'ntiko' or amanisso'hka'n or some other unnamed being. Nikip Lake is said to be inhabited by one such supernatural being. Here footprints are sometimes seen and on occasion voices heard. The being is said to be a large man who wears no clothes. Two informants said the being was neither wi'ntiko' nor amanisso'hka'n. Another informant who recounted the following story said no one knew who the supernatural being at Nikip was, but he thought it was probably wi'ntiko'.³ One time the informant said he went hunting geese and duck with another man at Nikip Lake. They hunted during the afternoon, and then had a meal. After eating they went back and hunted until dark. They then landed and bedded down for the

1. Besides the spirit being wi'ntiko', which is a distinct entity, there are human beings who for various reasons become wi'ntiko', distinct from the wi'ntiko' spirit. In addition, an animal may turn into a wi'ntiko' when killed. Also, there is manito'hke' which can manipulate or consists of the wi'ntiko'. This may be the same as the wi'ntiko' spirit being. Finally, evil shamans may return from the dead as wi'ntiko'.

2. See pp. D.25-26.

3. Another informant spoke of a wi'ntiko' just to the west of this area.

night in the grass. Soon they heard a voice from across the lake and wondered what it was. Again they heard it, this time closer. The informant asked his partner if he did not think it wise to leave. His partner said they could do so if he wanted. The informant said that if the voice came any closer they had better leave. Soon they heard the cry again and this time the informant said, "Lets get out of here." With that they got in the canoe, started the motor, and returned directly to the village of Round Lake in the middle of the night.

Several other stories are told regarding the supernatural being at Nikip Lake. One time a white trapper, who had married a Sandy Lake woman, was camping there in a tent. One night he heard a voice outside. He went out and the voice came closer. He immediately went back inside the tent, crawled into bed, and pulled the blanket over himself to hide. The voice came closer, and he heard foot steps going around the tent and the ground shook. Soon the supernatural being, in this case a wi^ontiko^o, opened the flaps of the tent and came inside. The man peeked out from under his blanket. The wi^ontiko^o had a large hole at the top of his throat through which he spoke. His "face" was not recognizable as a face. The wi^ontiko^o grabbed the man by the stomach and threw him outside. The man did not move. The wi^ontiko^o came out of the tent and stalked off into the bush.

On another occasion men from Weagamow Lake became involved one summer with the supernatural being at Nikip Lake. They were working there, and for several nights were bothered by strange happenings. During the night, someone was continually tossing sticks and moss at their tent. The climax came one night when it was nearly buried in debris. The next morning they found tracks about their tent, and sticks which had been broken and thrown on it.

The wi^ontiko^o is said never to enter the village of Round Lake, but amanisso^ohka^on does, but no stories were recorded of this happening. An informant did say that once his "cousin" went outside one evening, and saw a camp fire about six feet away. By the fire sat a white man. His "cousin" turned to call his wife but when he looked again the man had vanished. On another occasion the informant's sister's husband, just after his marriage, heard noises outside the home every night. It was amanisso^ohka^on. That fall they moved into the bush, but the man continued to hear the amanisso^ohka^on every night. Life was hard, and the men of the camp were able to get very little game. Some days there were no fish in the nets, no hares in the snares and they had nothing to eat. Somebody was causing them trouble. Finally, the man's father decided someone desired his son's wife, and wanted to separate her from her present husband. Eventually, the trouble ceased.

Another informant said he was once visiting a neighbouring community, and the people there said that an amanisso^ohka^on was about. He said he was very careful and did not see the spirit. Sometimes people pretend they are amanisso^ohka^on and try to scare others. This has occasionally taken place at Weagamow Lake in the past.

During the course of fieldwork, one family was constantly becoming involved with a supernatural being. No one knew exactly who the supernatural being was, and informants would not even speculate as to its identity. Once during the summer of 1958 at a fishing camp on Caribou Lake, this family had the fol-

lowing experience. The man and his family were camped some distance from the others. In the middle of the night, the whole family heard voices and saw a light in an abandoned tent near them. The man immediately moved his family to the main camp. This incident prompted a certain amount of discussion and speculation as to who this being was. The voices heard were those of Indians and it was thought some people were traveling through the country. Perhaps they were from Big Beaverhouse. It is said that in the past men, especially those of Osnaburg House, travelled through the country stealing women, occasionally killing the husbands to secure them. It was thought that this might have been the case on this particular occasion, but nothing more happened at that time.

A short time later the same family was camped on Weagamow Lake some distance from the village. Again the head of the family encountered an unspecified supernatural being. Again at midnight he packed his family in the canoe and headed for the village. In the process, one of his children was dropped into the lake but successfully retrieved. As far as is known, there were no more encounters by this family after this incident.

Summary:

It is hoped that the preceding discussion has shown the very great importance of religion in the lives of the Round Lake Ojibwa. As it pervades many aspects of their culture, these are intelligible only with an understanding of their religious attitudes and beliefs. The supernatural is ever present, and continuously guides the actions and thoughts of the people. It can be easily seen that misunderstandings will arise when such behavior is judged on the basis of Euro-Canadian premises. Such actions are eminently logical from the point of view of a Round Lake Ojibwa while, at the same time, they appear to be completely illogical from the point of view of the Euro-Canadian. The concept of power is fundamental to the religious system, and is its core. Power resides within the individual, and does not form the basis for an organized religion with a congregation of worshippers. This is of importance, since it allows each individual to act independently of others. The Christian church appears to have altered this situation very little. The individualistic nature of the religious system accords with other aspects of the culture, such as economic and political organization.

PART V

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

As pointed out in the Introduction, the present study has several purposes in mind. One important consideration is to place on record a description of the Round Lake Ojibwa as they exist today, especially for the benefit of those who have the task of administering the area. Three other aims of this report are: to indicate the changes that have occurred in the life of the Round Lake Ojibwa; to show the degree to which social organization, economics, and religion are interrelated; and finally to see to what extent the Round Lake Ojibwa today form an integrated whole and function accordingly. Although specific comments have been made throughout the report regarding these problems, it is nevertheless thought wise to bring together a summary of this material.

During the past fifty to sixty years, the Round Lake Ojibwa have been subject to increasingly intensive contact with Euro-Canadians and their culture. This contact has produced major alterations and dislocations in the aboriginal cultural, and changes have occurred in all aspects of the life of the Round Lake Ojibwa. This has been true to such an extent that today one might speak of a distinct Euro-Ojibwa Culture. The changes have disrupted certain interrelationships between various aspects of their former culture, and the changes have drastically upset the integration and operation of various structural units through the disappearance of some roles, the alteration in the content of particular roles, and the establishment of new roles.

The changes that have occurred can be considered to be of two types. Firstly, there are the direct changes which have taken place through the adoption of material items of culture, habits, beliefs and attitudes of Euro-Canadians, or the imposition of certain traits on the people by Euro-Canadians. These borrowed traits have either become fused with pre-existing traits, have become additions supplementing former traits, have replaced comparable traits, or have been entirely new innovations to the cultural inventory. Secondly, there are those internal changes which have occurred as a result of these borrowings from Euro-Canadians.

The most evident, if not the most profound, changes have taken place in the economic life of the people. Social organization has undergone certain changes, perhaps fewer in number, but no less important. Religion has been perhaps least affected except from a superficial point of view.

Changes in the economic life of the Round Lake Ojibwa have been in the realms of technology, production, and distribution, and have had far reaching effects on other aspects of the culture. Technological changes are the most conspicuous and numerous, the material culture of the people having been altered to conform more closely to that of the Euro-Canadians. The Round Lake Ojibwa have become almost totally dependent upon goods produced outside the community. Metal items have replaced those of bone, wood and bark. Items made of cloth are used extensively in place of those made of hide and bark. Commercial ropes and twines are now substituted for those made from native fibers. A listing of those items formerly manufactured by the Round Lake Ojibwa which today have been replaced by Euro-Canadian articles would be extensive. Few items of native manufacture remain - moccasins, snowshoes, toboggans, sleds, net shuttles and gauges, canoe paddles, wooden spoons, and

occasionally, deadfalls, lodges, and garments of rabbitskin.

Changes in technology, although not a sole determinant of all other changes in the life of the people, have in some ways had repercussions on other aspects of the culture. From the beginning, the Round Lake Ojibwa consciously desired those items of material culture offered by Euro-Canadians. These items were not forced upon them against their will, except for the degree of advertising and propaganda involved, and the selection of particular goods by Euro-Canadians to present to the people. Once given a desire for Euro-Canadian goods¹, the people were presented with the problem of how to acquire these goods. This was accomplished by means of alterations in the forms of production and distribution which occurred concomitantly and in accordance with Euro-Canadian interests.

The Round Lake Ojibwa no longer exist solely within a subsistence economy. The system of production has been slowly transformed over the years, and the people have become enmeshed in a money economy. Instead of securing those materials which could be directly converted to food, clothing, and shelter, as in the past, items are now secured for sale to Euro-Canadians. These consist primarily of furs and fish. In addition, wage labour has come to play an increasingly important part in the economy. The proceeds received from the sale of furs and fish, from labour and from Government subsidy² are used to secure those goods no longer produced domestically as well as entirely new items. In spite of these changes, the Round Lake Ojibwa still obtain large quantities of their food from the land, and some clothing and equipment, but each year they move farther away from a purely subsistence economy.

As implied above, the system of distribution has become transformed. Instead of goods being transferred within the community, primarily within kinship units, goods are now exchanged principally with Euro-Canadians. Perhaps as much as 90% of all property transfers are conducted in this manner. Exchange is on the basis of money, which has allowed a certain flexibility in the choice of goods the Round Lake Ojibwa may obtain, and has freed them to deal with individuals other than those bound to them by ties of kinship. Nevertheless, since they still live so close to the margin of existence, the majority of goods obtained are basic items over which they can exercise very little choice. Prestige items are few in number. Furthermore, although kinship obligations are weakening, they still play a dominant role in the life of the people, and influence economic obligations in various ways.

Other changes were set in motion as the means to acquire Euro-Canadian goods developed. Property concepts were modified. Those goods secured from Euro-Canadians came to be thought of as private property and not to be distributed free of charge. As the means evolved whereby these foreign goods were

1. The actual mechanism by which this occurred was not investigated and is of minimal concern as far as this report is concerned. Nevertheless, investigation of this problem would have extreme relevance for a more thorough understanding of the Round Lake Ojibwa and the changes that have occurred.
2. Government subsidies cannot be ignored here although strictly speaking they are not a form of production. Nevertheless, they are an important means of securing Euro-Canadians goods.

secured, resources such as the fur bearing animals became, in the eyes of the people, a potential source of wealth and hunting territories began to emerge. Before they became fully developed, the Government established registered traplines (i.e. Trapping Territories). Nevertheless, the importance of fur bearers continued to develop, and they are now looked upon as private property no longer free to all members of the community. They are, instead the property of the men who form trapping partnerships and exploit particular areas, but no effective means to prevent others from exploiting a particular area has evolved. At the same time, former techniques, such as sorcery or community disapproval which might have been employed to prevent trespass, were disrupted through contact.

Another effect arising from the acquisition of Euro-Canadian goods was to free the people from numerous manufacturing tasks and procuring food through hunting. This free time could now be devoted to other pursuits, primarily the exploitation of native resources to be converted to Euro-Canadian goods. All of these changes, in turn, had various effects upon the social organization of the people.

The social organization of the Round Lake Ojibwa has undergone some rather radical changes during the past fifty to sixty years. Although one may attack the problem of social change in various ways, during the course of preparing this report it became apparent that one way was to commence with an analysis of those changes that have taken place in various roles, and from here to move to structural changes, and the effects resulting from these.¹ This sequence is indicated since it is roles which, in various combinations, form the various structures found among the Round Lake Ojibwa. Furthermore, the changes in roles and structures have relevance when considering the operation and integration of the Round Lake Community at the present time.

Undoubtedly, considerably more work is needed before an adequate understanding of roles can be arrived at for the Round Lake Ojibwa. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the material which has been presented in this report sheds some light on the subject. The alteration of roles has been a gradual process, and not even at present have roles become stabilized. Formerly, several roles² were in existence - band leader, nintipe'ncike'win head, household head, shaman, hunter and various kinship roles. Those of band leader and shaman were achieved while those based on kinship and nintipe'ncike'win head were ascribed. In effect, the others listed were ascribed but, theoretically at least, could be considered achieved. A further consideration is that many of them were linked,

1. An approach along such lines is certainly not original and inspiration for this procedure was derived from S.F. Nadel, 1957, The Theory of Social Structure, Cohen and West Ltd., London.
2. Not all of what are referred to here as "roles" are, strictly speaking, true roles but rather quasi-roles. See S.F. Nadel, The Theory of Social Structure, Cohen and West Ltd., London, pages 28-29. For convenience of presentation, however, no distinction is made. This does not invalidate the analysis as pursued in this report.

e.g. the roles of shaman, household head, and hunter might be held by only one actor. The roles listed above have, in certain ways, become altered, some more drastically than others. In the Introduction the role of band leader was discussed and what happens under contact outlined. Suffice it to say here that the role of leader disappeared, and a new role was established, that of chief. Similarly, the role of nintipe^oncike^owin head has become considerably weakened, and it is only a matter of time before it disappears. The role of shaman has also altered, but instead of disappearing a new role emerged as a lineal descendant. Formerly, the shaman had great influence and control over community affairs. As well as religious duties and rights, he also had economic sanctions, and, since he was usually a band leader and/or nintipe^oncike^owin head, exercised some political control. With contact, his political authority and economic control became altered. He lost and in some cases, it appears, divested himself of political authority. His economic control became weakened but did not disappear. With the advent of Christianity, the shaman added Christian rituals to his shamanistic practices and beliefs. With time he dropped the shamanistic practices, but retained his beliefs and, in part at least, interpreted Christian doctrines and beliefs in terms of them. So arose the native preacher, less powerful today than formerly, but retaining considerable influence over community affairs.

Formerly, all men were hunters and generally heads of nuclear families. The role "head of a family" has not altered appreciably since the past, except that, with the disappearance of the band leader and weakening of the nintipe^oncike^owin head, the role of family head has emerged as one of the most important in the village. Whereas all men in the past filled the role of hunter, new economic roles have arisen, those of trapper, fisherman, store clerk, carpenter, labourer¹ and entrepreneur. Most men assume the role of trapper, and generally that of fisherman. Those of carpenter and entrepreneur are minor ones at the present time, but they do indicate the slight economic diversification that tends to be developing among the Round Lake Ojibwa. These two are not independent of all others, but are linked with such roles as that of hunter, trapper, and fisherman. That of store clerk, however, is not linked with any other economic roles.

From the above it can be seen that several things have happened in relation to roles. There has been a tendency to increase the number of possible roles a person may wish to assume and, at the same time, there has been a tendency for a shift from predominately ascribed to achieved roles. These statements entail some qualifications. Although there has been a slight increase in the number of distinct roles, the means of achieving certain of them have not been fully modified thereby often preventing individuals from assuming them. For instance men aspire to the role of labourer, or entrepreneur. In these instances, lacking proper training, requisite skills, appropriate attitudes, and sufficient motivation, few can achieve them. Furthermore, the role of chief is

1. This role has not been discussed in this report since there is no steady wage employment, aside from store clerk, in the village. Individuals who wish to assume this role must go outside.

hardly more than one in name only. The general result is that a man can become no more than a household head and hunter-trapper-fisherman. On the other hand, the shift from ascribed to achieved roles is more apparent than real, although it raises certain basic problems. As noted above there is little opportunity for a man to do more than become a household head and hunter-trapper-fisherman in order to survive. While other roles are theoretically open to him, he does not have the qualifications, as seen from the Euro-Canadian point of view, to achieve such positions. Because of this, individuals are often frustrated in their attempts to achieve such roles as full time labourer giving rise to dissatisfactions with the existing system.

The alteration of roles has, of course, brought about changes in various structural units. With the disappearance of band leader, political control over the total group disappeared, and the present chiefs and councilors, as pointed out before, exist in name only. The result is no strong community organization. With the disappearance of the nintipe'ncike'win head, the kinship unit over which he had control became weakened. At the same time as kinship obligations weakened, the hunting group tended to disappear and a new unit came into existence, trapping partnerships. With the breakdown in the nintipe'ncike'win and hunting group, the household emerged as the predominate economic and socio-political unit within the community. Besides the changes in the socio-political structural units, religious structures were altered. They became separated from the socio-political structures due to shifts in roles. Today, the Evangelical church is the most effective religious structure in the community with a well defined organization.¹

Changes in the religious structures of the Round Lake Ojibwa have been mentioned above. There have also been other forms of change in the religious system. The Round Lake Ojibwa have come to accept Christianity and in most cases are firmly convinced that they are true Christians, in the sense that they adhere to the doctrines of the church. They have abandoned their former religious practices and attend church faithfully, even conducting services at home. Yet, for all of this, the people are not Christians in the Euro-Canadian meaning of the word. In large measure they have retained their former beliefs and have interpreted Christianity in terms of these. Nevertheless, the ability to secure religious power has been weakened, and an individual can no longer effectively protect himself from the harm directed against him by those in other communities. Only the native preachers have, in general, acquired sufficient power to protect themselves. The result is that individuals still believe in and fear witchcraft but can no longer effectively retaliate. Furthermore, where Christianity comes into conflict with their old beliefs, the people are thrown into a state of confusion, and find it difficult if not impossible to resolve the conflict.

The above changes which have occurred to the Round Lake Ojibwa have had effects on the interrelationships between various aspects of the culture, and in the operation and integration of the community. Although social organization can never be considered as completely divorced from economics and religion,

1. This was true during the course of fieldwork but more recent information suggests that this may be altering.

there can be varying degrees of interrelationship. Formerly, these three aspects of Round Lake Ojibwa culture could be thought of as forming a functional whole. The band leader at one level and the nintipe'ncike'win head at another level of organization unified their respective units for the performance of economic tasks and duties, for religious performances, for social occasions and operated as political units. The social structures involved made it possible to conduct effectively the necessary economic duties and the religious system gave security, from one point of view, to the individual in interpersonal relations and in the exploitation of the environment.

Today the above is no longer the case. The aboriginal religious system has been weakened in certain aspects, no longer aiding a man in his economic pursuits, nor allowing him an effective means of dealing with other individuals. An individual may fear another as he did in the past, but no longer can he do anything to alleviate this condition. In many ways religion has become divorced from the realities of life, and the people have trouble in adjusting to this. The economy is still tied to the social organization, but both have changed contracting from former conditions. Economic obligations and duties no longer tie a large number of people together along the lines of kinship. Kinship has become weakened, in part through the introduction of a money economy, and today the largest effective socio-political and economic unit is the household.

The changes that have occurred pose problems for the Round Lake Ojibwa in terms of the operation and integration of the community. As has been said, the Round Lake Community no longer forms a society in the strict meaning of the word. Certain structures necessary for the group to operate as an autonomous unit now exist external to the community within Canadian society. Although this is true, it does not fully account for the fact that the community is no longer a unified structure, having fragmented into a number of independent households. This is due to the fact that there is no overall authority structure with the requisite authority and responsibility to control the actions of the member households; nor is there now any religious organization of a single homogeneous nature which might unify the group. In addition, economic organization is restricted primarily to the household level. Although kin relationships have become weakened from former days, they are important in the lives of the people, and link together, although weakly, a number of households. This is perhaps the major force today contributing to group solidarity. Other factors are a similar way of life, a common language, and a feeling of opposition to other communities and Euro-Canadians.

Of some importance in regard to group solidarity are the attitudes, beliefs, and goals held by the Round Lake Ojibwa. This is a topic which has only been touched upon with this report. It must be born in mind that at the present time there is no standardized set of attitudes, beliefs, and goals. Accordingly, individuals holding opposite points of view frequently come into conflict with no effective means of resolving the discord. This engenders hostility between households, and even between members of the same household. It is a factor which has contributed to the weakening of kinship, and has undermined to a

certain extent the authority structure as established by the Government. It also leads to confusion in the minds of any one individual, and causes him considerable mental anguish. On occasion a neurotic condition arises.

In summary, it can be said that the Round Lake Ojibwa form an amorphous social unit composed of household groups who form a symbiotic relationship with Canadian society, and a caste within the village of Round Lake.

GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

<u>ahca`hk</u>	A person's soul or spirit
<u>ahca`hkonišš</u>	sheep laurel (<u>Kalmis polifolia</u> Wang.)
<u>ahca`p</u>	bow
<u>ahki`ho`ka`n</u>	an earth covered conical lodge
<u>ahki`win</u>	year
<u>ahpa`hkisiko`minipak</u>	bearberry (<u>Arctostaphylos uvaursi</u> (L.) Spreng.)
<u>akasis</u>	charcoal
<u>ako`nitiso</u>	"he hangs himself"
<u>amanisso`hka`n</u>	a supernatural being which resembles a person
<u>ana`mahka`miko`winini</u>	supernatural beings - the term means literally "underground person"
<u>animošš</u>	dog
<u>ani`nimina`na`htik</u>	sour-top bilberry (<u>Vaccinim</u> <u>myrtilloides</u> Mischx.)
<u>aniššina`pe`wa`hpine`</u>	illness or accident attributed to the effects of supernatural power directed against the patient
<u>ansikwašk</u>	bullrush (<u>Scirpus</u> sp.)
<u>antapawa`mo</u>	vision quest formerly undertaken by boys and sometimes girls at the age of puberty
<u>apihcinini`nss</u>	a supernatural being of small size - the term means literally "little person"
<u>aška`pašk</u>	fireweed (<u>Epilobium augustifolium</u> L.)
<u>assa`hwe`</u>	yellow perch (<u>Perca flavescens</u>)
<u>assa`kanašk</u>	reed (<u>Phragmites communis</u> Trin)
<u>ašša`ke`</u>	crayfish
<u>assa`te`wahke`šši</u>	cross fox
<u>assini`wa`hkon</u>	tripe de roche (<u>Umbilicaris</u> spp. <u>gyrophora</u> spp.)
<u>assini`yohpwa`kan</u>	stone pipe
<u>atihkame`k</u>	lake whitefish (<u>Coregonus</u> <u>clupeaformis</u>)

GLOSSARY

<u>atihkohkopi`makwa`htik</u>	dwarf birch (<u>Betula pumila</u> L. var. <u>glandulosa</u> (Regel) Fern)
<u>atihkop i`skonikan</u>	Caribou Lake Band
<u>atihkopi`wininiwak</u>	the name of a band formerly inhabiting the Round Lake Area - the term means literally "caribou lake people"
<u>awa`šišš</u>	baby
<u>awa`šišši`wahkamik</u>	moss
<u>awassa`pihk</u>	land of the dead or literally "other side of rock land"
<u>a`hkosi`</u>	illness or accident due to natural causes
<u>a`kasko`, pine`</u>	sharp-tailed grouse (<u>Pedioecetes phasianellus</u>)
<u>a`mihk</u>	beaver (<u>Castor canadensis</u>)
<u>a`mihko`nss</u>	baby beaver
<u>a`mo`</u>	bee
<u>a`nihkawašk</u>	horsetail (<u>Equisetum fluviatile</u> L.)
<u>a`pihcikiss</u>	brant (<u>Branta bernicla</u>)
<u>a`pihcimahi`nkan</u>	brush wolf (<u>Canis latrans</u>)
<u>a`pihciššip</u>	green-winged teal (<u>Anas carolinensis</u>)
<u>a`pihciwe`hwe`</u>	blue goose (<u>Chen caerulescens</u>)
<u>a`powana`hk</u>	a spit for cooking food
<u>a`sa`ti`ya`htik</u>	trembling aspen (<u>Populus tremuloides</u> Michx.)
<u>a`sisi`n</u>	pond weed (<u>Potamogeton Richardsonii</u> (ar.Benn.) Rydb.)
<u>a`ši`wisi</u>	a term which means "he acts queerly" and is used to refer to those individuals or other living creatures who behave in an unusual manner at any time or place
<u>a`ššima`nk</u>	red-throated loon (<u>Gavia stellata</u>)
<u>cahcahkanó`</u>	red-winged blackbird (<u>Agelaius phoeniceus</u>)
<u>ca`hca`nkahamotiye`ssi</u>	spotted sandpiper (<u>Actitis macularia</u>)

GLOSSARY

<u>cahka`pe`šš</u>	a mythical being who figures in certain myths
<u>ci`payahki</u>	land of the dead or literally "dead people land"
<u>cipe`se`</u>	yellow-bellied sapsucker (<u>Sphyrapicus</u> v. <u>varius</u>)
<u>ci`we`skan</u>	dragon fly
<u>e`niko</u>	wood bug
<u>e`ske`</u>	a technique formerly used in the capture of beaver during the winter whereby the animals were flooded out of their homes and then killed
<u>ihkwe`</u>	a married woman
<u>ihkwe`-maškihki</u>	love medicine or aphrodisiac - it literally means "woman medicine"
<u>ihkwe`se`ns</u>	a young girl until the age of puberty
<u>ihkwe`wašk</u>	mint (<u>Mentha</u> sp.) it means literally "woman plant"
<u>inakima`kaniwi</u>	an accident caused by <u>manito`hke`</u>
<u>inini`wa`hpine`</u>	an illness or accident due to supernatural causes
<u>išinišahama`ke`win</u>	a vision which causes the viewer harm
<u>iškisi</u>	to have pains in the side of the body
<u>iškote`-manito`hka`n</u>	a supernatural being - the term means literally "fire-god-like"
<u>iškonikan</u>	"band" as defined by the Government - an administrative device in which the Indians have been assigned to particular units - not a native political, economic, or social unit
<u>i`niniššip</u>	mallard (<u>Anas P. platyrhynchos</u>)
<u>i`šikaniyamiššinini</u>	a supernatural being - the term means literally "half-man"
<u>ka`k</u>	porcupine (<u>Erethizon dorsatum</u>)
<u>ka`ka`ki`wa`ntak</u>	creeping savin (<u>Juniperus horizontalis</u> Moench)

GLOSSARY

<u>ka`kike`pako`n</u>	labrador tea (<u>Ledum groenlandicum Oeder</u>)
<u>kana`ci`yahca`hk</u>	The Holy Ghost
<u>kaška`htik</u>	eastern white cedar (<u>Thuja occidentalis L.</u>)
<u>kaškici`pison</u>	moss sack in which infants are placed
<u>kaškipita`kan</u>	an animal skin bag in which a shaman kept his medicines
<u>kihci-a`mihk</u>	old beaver
<u>kihci`hkwe`</u>	an elderly female
<u>kihcikami`wašk</u>	bullrush (<u>Scirpus sp.</u>)
<u>kihci-ko`hkomina`n</u>	an elderly female; literally "our great grandmother"
<u>kihci-mahkate`ššip</u>	white winged scoter (<u>Melanitta deglardi</u>)
<u>kihci-na`pe`</u>	an elderly or important male
<u>kihci-nimiššo`m</u>	an elderly male; literally "my great grandfather"
<u>kihci-nimiššo`mina`n</u>	same as directly above.
<u>kihci-oškini`ki</u>	an adult unmarried male
<u>kihci-oškini`kihkwe`</u>	an adult unmarried female
<u>kihci`yaha`</u>	an elderly or important male
<u>ki`kiškawa`wasso</u>	human foetus
<u>kihke`ntama`</u>	"he knows supernaturally"
<u>kihke`ntama`wipawa`mo</u>	"he dreams a dream of supernatural significance"
<u>ki`koha`ke`</u>	wolverine (<u>Gulo luscus</u>)
<u>kihtansik, ansik</u>	common merganser (<u>Mergus merganser americana</u>)
<u>ki`kwi`šši</u>	gray jay (<u>Perisoreus canadensis</u>)
<u>kine`pik</u>	snake, garter (<u>Thamnophis sirtalis</u>)
<u>kino`še`nšš</u>	northern pike (<u>Esox lucius</u>)
<u>kinwa`hkokwayowe`siššip</u>	pintail (<u>Anas acuta</u>)
<u>kiše`nini</u>	an old person of either sex
<u>ki`škimanissi`</u>	belted kingfisher (<u>Megaceryle o. alcyon</u>)

GLOSSARY

<u>ki'wa'skwe'</u>	a form of mental disturbance of a rather violent form
<u>ki'wa'skwe'ya'tisi</u>	a form of mental disturbance of a non-violent form
<u>ki'we'tinišši</u>	"northwest wind spirit"
<u>kiya'sk</u>	gull (<u>larus</u> sp.)
<u>ko'hkomina'n</u>	an elderly female; literally "our grandmother"
<u>ko'hko'sis</u>	a word by which the <u>wi'ntiko'</u> is sometimes referred - it means literally "salt pork"
<u>ko'hko'hkoho'</u>	a general term for a large owl
<u>kosikwa'hkomina'htik</u>	juneberry (<u>Amelanchier humilis</u> Wieg.)
<u>ko'sowa'pin</u>	a mythological character
<u>kossa'palcikan</u>	shaking tent
<u>košša'pantamo'winini</u>	the shaman who specialized in the use of the shaking tent
<u>kwa'skwe'picikan</u>	jigging for fish
<u>ma'cišowe'wašk</u>	grass (<u>Carex lasiocarpa</u> Ehrh. var. <u>americana</u> Fern.)
<u>maciyahca'hk</u>	evil spirit or the Devil
<u>mahi'nkan</u>	timber wolf (<u>Canis lupus</u>)
<u>mahkate'sšip</u>	surf scoter (<u>Melanitta perspicillata</u>)
<u>mahkate'wahke'sši</u>	black fox
<u>mahkate'wiko'hko'hkoho'</u>	great horned owl (<u>Bubo virginianus</u>)
<u>mahkate'wininiššip</u>	black duck (<u>Anas rubripes</u>)
<u>mahke'sši</u>	red fox (<u>Vulpes vulpes</u>)
<u>mahkomina'htik</u>	mountain ash (<u>Sorbus decora</u> (Sarg.) Schneid)
<u>mahko'nssimin</u>	mountain cranberry (<u>Vaccinium Vitis-Idæca</u> L.)
<u>mahkopi'wininiwak</u>	"makoop people" - the name of a former band in the Round Lake Area
<u>mahkotikom</u>	beetle
<u>mahkwa</u>	black bear (<u>Ursus americanus</u>)
<u>ma'nasa'ti'ya'htik</u>	balsam poplar (<u>Populus balsamifera</u> L.)
<u>manito'</u>	God

GLOSSARY

<u>manito'hke'</u>	the religious power possessed by a person which "allows him to manipulate the supernatural"
<u>manito'ki'wak</u>	a religious ceremony which is today performed at Sandy Lake
<u>manito'mina'htik</u>	swamp red currant (<u>Ribes hudsonianum</u> Richards)
<u>ma'nk</u>	common loon (<u>Gavia immer</u>)
<u>ma'nkopakon</u>	bog-rosemary (<u>Andromeda glaucophylla</u> Link.)
<u>ma'same'koss</u>	brook trout (<u>Salvelinus fontinalis</u>)
<u>masa'našk</u>	nettle (<u>Urtica</u> sp.)
<u>masinihcikan</u>	an image which is employed to kill an enemy
<u>masinini'hka'n</u>	an image which is employed to kill an enemy
<u>maškihki'n</u>	household medicines - known to everybody
<u>maški'ko-aniššini</u>	the name by which the Round Lake Ojibwa refer to those people living north of them - the term means literally "muskeg person"
<u>maški'kohkamik</u>	an earth covered conical lodge or a general term for moss
<u>maški'komin</u>	small cranberry (<u>Vaccinium Oxycoccus</u> L.)
<u>maški'kwa'htik</u>	tamarack (larch) (<u>Larix laricina</u> (DuRoi) K. Roch)
<u>ma'tahikan</u>	a metal scraper
<u>matwe'hikan</u>	drum
<u>matwe'hike'winini</u>	a type of shaman who was proficient in the use of the drum
<u>me'me'nkwe'</u>	butterfly and moth
<u>me'me'nkwe'ssi</u>	a small supernatural being who lives in cliffs and who made the rock painting found in the area
<u>michkan</u>	fish trap
<u>michke'</u>	fish spear
<u>mihkina'hk</u>	turtle

GLOSSARY

<u>minahi`kwa`htik</u>	white spruce (<u>Picea glauca</u> (Moench) Voss)
<u>misay</u>	burbot (ling) (<u>Lota lota</u>)
<u>misisa`hk</u>	moose fly
<u>miskome`pin</u>	white sucker (common) (<u>Catostomus commersoni</u>)
<u>miskomina`htik</u>	smooth wild rose (<u>Rosa blanda</u> Ait <u>Rubus</u> sp.)
<u>miskwa`pi`makwa`htik</u>	red-osier dogwood (<u>Cornus stolonifera</u> Michx.)
<u>mi`ššici`mina`htik</u>	skunk currant (<u>Ribes glandulosum</u> Grauer)
<u>mi`ssa`pa`hkon</u>	old man's beard (<u>Usnea</u> sp.)
<u>missa`pe`</u>	means literally "great man" - a person's combined supernatural powers or the sum total of all his guardian spirits - also a mythological being
<u>miššipišiw</u>	a supernatural being, the "great lynx"
<u>mite`</u>	spirit or supernatural
<u>mite`-ahki</u>	the land of the dead or literally "spirit land"
<u>mite`mi`kiss</u>	beads which are thought to give the owner supernatural power, the term means literally "spirit beads"
<u>mite`na`pe`</u>	a powerful type of shaman who had the ability to kill others
<u>mite`wimaškihki`winini</u>	a shaman who specialized in curing especially by means of secret medicines
<u>mite`win</u>	a religious ceremony of the southern Ojibwa
<u>mo`nikwane`</u>	yellow-shafted flicker (<u>Colaptes auratus</u>)
<u>mo`skaho`ssi</u>	american bittern (<u>Botaurus lentiginosus</u>) also great blue heron (<u>Ardea herodias</u>)
<u>mo`so`mina`htik</u>	squashberry (<u>Viburnum edule</u> (Michx.) Raf.)
<u>mo`sse`</u>	wood bug

GLOSSARY

<p><u>nahkawe' -aniššini</u></p> <p><u>name'</u></p> <p><u>name'koss</u></p> <p><u>nana'hpawa'cinihke'ssi</u></p> <p><u>napaka'ntakwa'htik</u></p> <p><u>napaka'ntakwamake'hk</u></p> <p><u>napame'ho'ka'n</u></p> <p><u>na'pe'</u></p> <p><u>na'pe'ns</u></p> <p><u>natopine'</u></p> <p><u>ne'hpiciki'wa'škwe'</u></p> <p><u>ne'nka'pihan</u></p> <p><u>ni'cihki'we'si^l</u></p> <p><u>nicwa'pi'šš</u></p> <p><u>nihka</u></p> <p><u>nihkimina'htik</u></p> <p><u>ni'hta'wiss</u></p> <p><u>ni'cimoss</u></p> <p><u>nikamo'winini</u></p> <p><u>nimaca'panta'n</u></p> <p><u>nima'ma'</u></p> <p><u>nimpa'pa'</u></p> <p><u>ni'ma'pa'n</u></p> <p><u>nimisse'ns</u></p> <p><u>nimiššo'm</u></p> <p><u>nimiššo'me'</u></p>	<p>the name applied to the Ojibwa peoples living south of the Round Lake Ojibwa - the literal meaning of the term is not known</p> <p>lake sturgeon (<u>Acipenser fulvenscens</u>)</p> <p>lake trout (<u>Salvelinus fontinalis</u>)</p> <p>shrew</p> <p>balsam fir (<u>Abies balsamea</u> (L.) Mill.)</p> <p>balsam fir bark</p> <p>an open top shelter</p> <p>a married man</p> <p>a boy until the age of puberty</p> <p>spruce grouse (<u>Canachites canadensis</u>)</p> <p><u>wi'ntiko'</u> psychosis</p> <p>"west wind spirit"</p> <p>brother (male speaking)</p> <p>northern pike (<u>Esox lucius</u>)</p> <p>Canada goose (<u>Branta canadensis</u>)</p> <p>bilberry (<u>Vaccinium unliqinosum</u> L.)</p> <p>male cross-cousin and brother-in-law (male speaking)</p> <p>male cross-cousin and brother-in-law (female speaking)</p> <p>a particular type of shaman who performs by singing</p> <p>"I see something bad" or "I have had a bad dream"</p> <p>mother</p> <p>father</p> <p>a special cord of a ceremonial nature used to drag home game employed by the Montagnais-Naskapi</p> <p>older sister</p> <p>grandfather</p> <p>father's brother, mother's sister's husband, and step-father</p>
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GLOSSARY

<u>nimiššo`me`nš</u>	father's brother, mother's sister's husband and step-father
<u>nimo`nis</u>	"my (woman speaking) breast hardens" this is a type of omen
<u>ninaha`ka`nihkwe`m</u>	daughter-in-law and sister's daughter
<u>ninaha`nkašši`m</u>	son-in-law and sister's son
<u>ninca`košš</u>	sister-in-law (female speaking)
<u>ninci`hci`pis</u>	"I twitch" - this is a type of omen
<u>ni`nim</u>	female cross-cousin and sister-in-law (male speaking)
<u>nininkwan</u>	son-in-law and sister's son
<u>ninka</u>	mother
<u>ninka`wi`</u>	mother
<u>ninkihcinimiššo`m</u>	great grandfather
<u>ninkihcino`hkom</u>	great grandmother
<u>ninkik</u>	otter (<u>Lutra canadensis</u>)
<u>ninkosiss</u>	son
<u>nimpipo`nišši`win</u>	my winter camp
<u>ninta`nihkonta`pa`n</u>	great grandchild
<u>ninta`niss</u>	daughter
<u>nintašimik</u>	"he warns me" - in reference to an omen
<u>nintašimiko`win</u>	"I experience a mysterious event"
<u>ninta`ta`</u>	father
<u>nintawe`ma`</u>	sister (male speaking); brother (female speaking)
<u>ninta`win</u>	"the place where I stay" - referring to either the village, winter camp, or house where a person lives
<u>nintaya`pawa`mowin</u>	"I have a dream"
<u>ninte`te`</u>	father
<u>nintipe`ncike`win</u>	the term refers to a group of people under the direction of a leader, and means literally "those whom I lead" or "my followers"
<u>nintipe`ncike`</u>	"I lead"

GLOSSARY

<u>ninto`šim</u>	brother's son
<u>ninto`šimihkwe`m</u>	brother's daughter
<u>ninto`siss</u>	mother's sister, father's brother's wife and step-mother
<u>ninto`tem</u>	"my friend" and general term for an affinal relative
<u>ninto`to`</u>	mother
<u>ninto`te`na`</u>	town or city
<u>nisikoss</u>	father's sister, mother's brother's wife and mother-in-law
<u>nisse`ns</u>	older brother
<u>nišši`me`ns</u>	younger sibling
<u>niššišše`ns</u>	mother's brother, father's sister's husband and father-in-law
<u>nissitise</u>	"he kills himself"
<u>ni`tihkwe`</u>	sister (female speaking)
<u>niwi`ci`wa`kan</u>	husband (female speaking)
<u>niwi`kima`kan</u>	wife (male speaking)
<u>no`hkici`ssak</u>	a particular type of rotten wood
<u>no`hkom</u>	grandmother
<u>no`hkomiss</u>	father's brother, mother's sister's husband, and step-father
<u>no`siss</u>	grandchild
<u>no`ss</u>	father
<u>o`ci`</u>	bluebottle fly
<u>ocickosic</u>	a term by which outsiders formerly referred to the people of the Round Lake area
<u>oci`k</u>	fisher (<u>Martes americana</u>)
<u>oci`kosa`kahikani`wininiwak</u>	"fisher lake people" - the name of a former band in the Round Lake Area
<u>o`ci`nss</u>	house fly
<u>ociskawawinini</u>	the name by which the Ojibwa of Sandy and Deer Lakes are known - the term means literally "person from the winds come"

GLOSSARY

<u>ohkaniisse°</u>	pine grosbeak (<u>Pinicola enucleator leucura</u>)
<u>ohka°ta°hk</u>	water-parsnip (<u>Sium sauave</u> Walt.)
<u>ohtikwa°nimin</u>	bake-apple (<u>Rubus Chamaemorus</u> L.)
<u>oka°nss</u>	walleye (<u>Stizostedion vitreum</u>)
<u>okica°htik</u>	pipe stem
<u>okihte°pak</u>	yellow water lilly (<u>Nuphar</u> sp.)
<u>okima°</u>	the word formerly employed for the band leader but now used for the Hudson's Bay Company post manager.
<u>okima°hka°n</u>	the term by which today chief is known - it means literally "boss-like"
<u>okini°wa°htik</u>	prickly wild rose (<u>Rosa acicularis</u> Lindl.)
<u>okwa°skocaha°mi°šš</u>	grasshopper
<u>omakahki°</u>	frog (<u>Rana</u> spp.) also toad (<u>Bufo</u> sp.)
<u>omakahki°min</u>	three-leaved false solomon' seal (<u>Smilacina trifolia</u> (L.) Desf.)
<u>omi°mi°ssi</u>	mayfly and similar forms
<u>onatawa°hike°win</u>	a special technique employed when hunting moose
<u>oncine°</u>	a term applied to many forms of illness which are attributed to supernatural causes
<u>opihko°ca°n</u>	yellow water lilly (<u>Nuphar</u> sp.)
<u>opihkwa°na°nci°ss</u>	bat
<u>osa°wahke°šši</u>	red fox (<u>Vulpes vulpes</u>)
<u>osi°pan</u>	the inner bark of the white birch tree
<u>oska°ntaka°wa°htik</u>	jack or banksian pine (<u>Pinus Banksiana</u> Lamb.)
<u>oškawa°šišš</u>	a baby until the age when it is trying to walk
<u>oškini°ki</u>	an adolescent boy who is not yet married
<u>oškini°kihkwē°</u>	an adolescent girl who is not yet married

GLOSSARY

<u>oški`nšikomin</u>	star flower (<u>Trientalis borealis</u> Raf.)
<u>oša`po`mina`htik</u>	gooseberry (<u>Ribes hirtellum</u> Michx.)
<u>ota`hpiná`wasso</u>	a midwife
<u>otassapihke`šši`šš</u>	spider
<u>ote`himin</u>	arctic raspberry (<u>Rubus acaulis</u> Michx.)
<u>ote`yamiha`</u>	a Christian
<u>ote`yamiha`hkaso`sk</u>	a non-Christian
<u>otipe`ncike`win</u>	third person singular of <u>nintipe`ncike`win</u> - see the latter term for definition
<u>oto`hpi`ya`htik</u>	alder (<u>Alnus crispa</u> (Ait.) Pursh.)
<u>o`homisiw</u>	great horned owl (<u>Bubo virginianus</u>)
<u>pa`hpa`se`</u>	woodpecker (<u>Picoides</u> sp.)
<u>pahpahkine`</u>	grasshopper
<u>panipa`ke</u>	common snipe (<u>Capella gallinago delicata</u>)
<u>papaški</u>	ruffed grouse (<u>Bonasa umbellus</u>)
<u>passwe`ka`nak</u>	cattail (<u>Typha</u> sp.)
<u>pa`škina`hkwa`n</u>	club moss (<u>Lycopodium annotinum</u> L. <u>Lycopodium obscurum</u> L. var. <u>dendroidem</u> (Michx.) D.C. Eaton)
<u>pawahi`mina`na`htik</u>	pin-cherry (<u>Prunus pensylvanica</u> L.f.)
<u>pawa`mowin</u>	a dream
<u>pe`šk</u>	common nighthawk (<u>Chordeiles minor</u>)
<u>pihkoci`ssi</u>	black fly
<u>pihkoka`n</u>	a conical lodge covered with spruce boughs
<u>pihkwatina`winini</u>	"mountain spirit"
<u>pihipihci</u>	robin (<u>Turdus migratorius</u>)
<u>pikwacinini</u>	a supernatural male being similar to a human being
<u>pikwahk</u>	arrow
<u>pikwahko`ššip</u>	common goldeneye (<u>Bucephala clangula americana</u>)

GLOSSARY

<u>pikwathkwe</u>	a supernatural female being similar to a human being
<u>pimota^hkwāⁿ</u>	small magical object employed to harm an enemy - it also refers to a dart.
<u>pine</u>	spruce grouse (<u>Canachites canadensis</u>) ruffed grouse (<u>Bonasa umbellus</u>) willow ptarmigan (<u>Lagopus l. albus</u>) sharp-tailed grouse (<u>Pedioecetes phasianellus</u>)
<u>pine^{ssi}</u>	thunder or thunder spirit
<u>piⁿntikaha^kaniwi</u>	a form of mental illness caused by the shaman who performs the shaking tent rite - the word refers to being taken inside or entombed
<u>pišikomin</u>	bristly sarsaparilla (<u>Aralis hispida</u> Vent.)
<u>pišiw</u>	Canada lynx (<u>Lynx canadensis</u>)
<u>poⁿakohkaⁿ</u>	set line for fishing
<u>poyawe^{nss}</u>	two year old beaver
<u>sakime</u>	mosquito
<u>sanakaskway</u>	snail, water
<u>sikipiss</u>	grebe (<u>Podiceps</u> sp.)
<u>sinkossi</u>	ermine (<u>Mustela erminea</u>)
<u>šana^ska^taweⁿ</u>	northern flying squirrel (<u>Glaucomys sabrinus</u>)
<u>šaⁿkwē^šši</u>	mink (<u>Mustela vison</u>)
<u>šaⁿpontawaⁿ</u>	a large lodge in the form of a double pitch roof with door at each end
<u>šaⁿša^kawa^pikoššimin</u>	wild sarsaparilla (<u>Aralia nudicaulis</u> L.)
<u>šaⁿšša^komin</u>	bunchberry (<u>Cornus canadensis</u> L.)
<u>šaⁿwanišši</u>	"south wind spirit" greater yellowlegs (<u>Totanus melanoleucus</u>) striped skunk (<u>Mephitis mephitis</u>)
<u>šiⁿkawihkwe</u>	a widow
<u>šiⁿkawina^{pe}</u>	a widower

GLOSSARY

<u>šikop</u>	spruce boughs
<u>šikopi`ya`htik</u>	black spruce (<u>Picea mariana</u> (Mill.) BsP)
<u>takwa`koššip</u>	scaup (<u>Aythya</u> sp.)
<u>ta`ta`</u>	the word for father that is used in address
<u>te`ssikote`wiššip</u>	shoveler (<u>Spatula clypeata</u>)
<u>tihkina`kan</u>	a cradle board
<u>wacašk</u>	muskrat (<u>Ondatra zibethicus</u>)
<u>wacitamó`</u>	red squirrel (<u>Tamiasciurus</u> <u>hudsonicus</u>)
<u>wa`hka`hikan</u>	a log cabin
<u>wa`hkošš</u>	red fox (<u>Vulpes vulpes</u>)
<u>wa`kinokam</u>	the lodge used when <u>manito`ki`wak</u> ceremony is held
<u>wanake`hkomatokwa`n</u>	a conical lodge covered with bark moss
<u>wa`pahkamik</u>	"white bear spirit"
<u>wa`pahkwa</u>	"east wind spirit"
<u>wa`pamišši</u>	a special earth used for chinking cabins
<u>wa`pamo`nak</u>	goldeye (<u>Hiodon alosoides</u>)
<u>wi`pici`</u>	snowy owl (<u>Nyctea scandiaca</u>)
<u>wa`piko`hko`hkoho`</u>	mouse
<u>wa`pikošši`š`</u>	whistling swan (<u>Olor columbianus</u>)
<u>wa`pisi`</u>	willow ptarmigan (<u>Lagopus l. albus</u>)
<u>wa`pisse`</u>	marten (<u>Martes americana</u>)
<u>wa`piše`šši</u>	buffle-head (<u>Bucephala albeola</u>)
<u>wa`piššip</u>	American widgeon (<u>Mareca americana</u>)
<u>wa`pištikwa`ne`wiššip</u>	snow goose (<u>Chen hyperborea</u>)
<u>wa`piwe`hwe` (we`hwe`)</u>	varying hare (<u>Lepus americanus</u>)
<u>wa`po`s</u>	wild sarsaparilla (<u>Aralia nudicaulis</u> L.)
<u>wa`po`so`pak</u>	white-tailed deer (<u>Odocoileus</u> <u>virginianus</u>)
<u>wa`wa`ške`šši</u>	
<u>wa`wiye`kama`</u>	round lake

GLOSSARY

<u>wa'wiye'kama'wininiwak</u>	"round lake people" - the name of a former band of Ojibwa in the Round Lake Area
<u>we'hwe'</u>	snow goose
<u>we'mišo's</u>	a mythological character
<u>wi'hke'nš</u>	blue flag (<u>Iris versicolor</u> L.)
<u>wi'kop</u>	willow bark string
<u>wi'kopi'ya'htik</u>	willow (<u>Salix planifolia</u> Pursh.)
<u>wi'kwa'ssa'htik</u>	white birch (<u>Betula papyrifera</u> Marsh)
<u>wi'kwa'sse'mihtikowa's</u>	a birch bark box in which a shaman kept his medicines
<u>wi'našk</u>	woodchuck (<u>Marmota monax</u>)
<u>wi'ntiko'</u>	a supernatural being who travels about trying to find people to eat
<u>wi'ntiko'hka'ta'k</u>	water hemlock (<u>Cicuta</u> sp.)
<u>wi'ntiko'wininiwak</u>	"windigo people" - the name of a former band of Ojibwa in the Round Lake Area
<u>wi'sahke'ca'hk</u>	a mythological being sometimes equated with Noah

PLATES



The Taiga of Round Lake



North End of Village of Round Lake



Woman Preparing Moose Hide (Summer)



Making Snowshoe Frames



Commercial Gill Net Drying



Smoke Lodge



Fish for Winter Dog Food



Round Lake Sawmill



Winter Camp



Winter Travel Camp



Winter Travel by Dog Team



Lunch on the Trail





Woman Preparing Moose Hide (Winter)



Setting Trap for Beaver (Spring)

